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a history

and guide

DALE AND ITS ABBNEY

BY

JOHN WARD.

Illustrated from Drawings by the Author.

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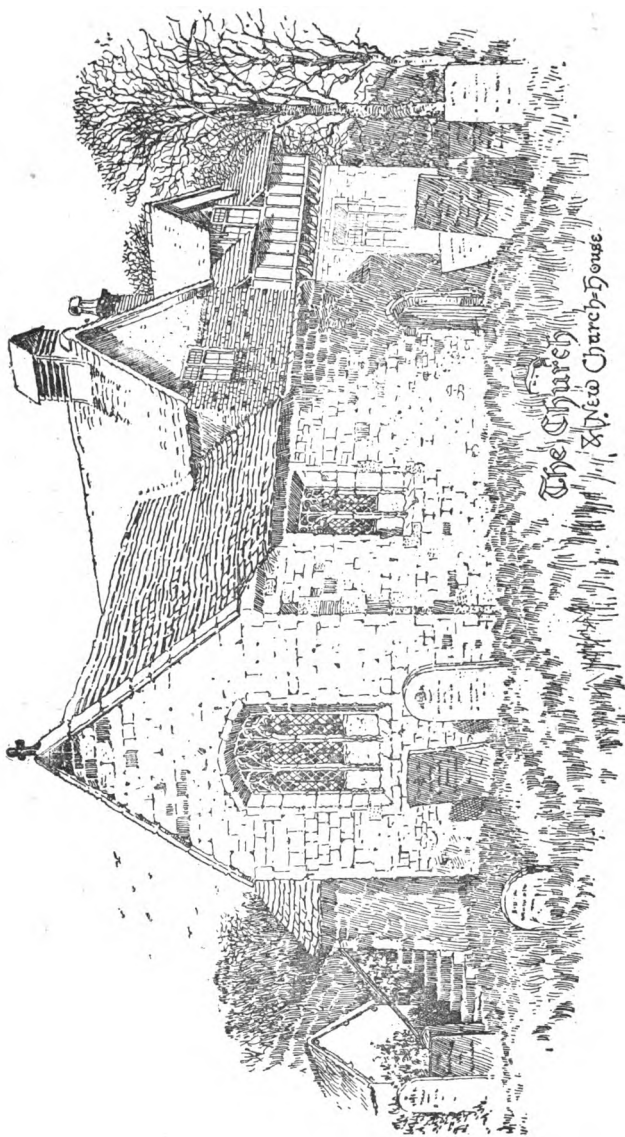
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DALE AND ITS ABBEY.



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(*DERBYSHIRE*):

A Short History and Guide.

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JOHN WARD.

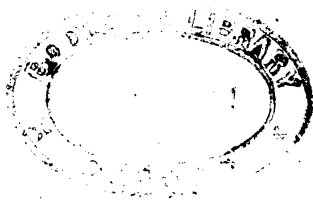
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P R E F A C E.

SEVERAL years ago I read a short paper on Dale Abbey, the subject-matter being mainly drawn from Glover's translation of the ancient Chronicle of the place. The more I studied this Chronicle, the greater became my interest, and the deeper my appreciation of all that relates to the Middle Ages. Subsequently I gathered together all the literary notices of the Abbey I could find, and these resulted in a series of articles in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* about two years ago. The appreciation accorded to them, emboldened me to write the present work.

As yet the full history of this Abbey is not written. An exhaustive monograph has long been contemplated by two well-known writers, whose names are sufficient guarantee that it would be a most valuable contribution to the history of the counties of Derby and Nottingham. But such a work being necessarily large and expensive, would scarcely fulfil the purpose aimed at in the present one, which is to supply the yearly increasing number of visitors with a cheap and compact guide and short history of that most interesting spot.

This work is in a great measure a compilation ; but wherever possible, I have carefully verified what has been borrowed from others, giving in every case the source. Much has been culled from the papers of Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Geo. Bailey, in the *Journals* of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society ; also from the Rev. Chas. Kerry's valuable pamphlet *The Hermitages of Depedale*, Dr. Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*, and Mr. Pym Yeatman's *Feudal History of the County of Derbyshire*, so far as yet published. Correspondence with the latter two gentlemen and other authorities has furnished some interesting details. I am also indebted to my cousin, Mr. G. H. Ward, my brother, Mr. A. A. Ward, and Mr. J. W. Stenson (the frequent companion of my country rambles), for various services they have rendered.

Of course, I have written essentially from the standpoint of the antiquary : how otherwise could Dale have been treated?—and how, except when visited in a similar spirit, can it be really enjoyed ?

While the intending visitor is advised to read this work throughout, it may be well to state for the benefit of those who have not sufficient time to do so before the visit, that Chapters V. (which involved more labour than the others) and VII. may be omitted. The dates enclosed in brackets at the heads of the Chapters, when followed by '?' must be accepted as approximate only.

I hope shortly to contribute an illustrated article upon Dale Church, and plates of the encaustic tiles of the Abbey and of Morley Church, to the *Reliquary* or The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society's *Journal*.

JOHN WARD.

DERBY, Feb. 17th, 1890.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—THE VILLAGE, AND HOW TO GET THERE.

Its situation, attractions, antiquities, and accommodation for visitors. Ways of going there. Great Northern Railway—West Hallam, Breadsall, Morley, and their Churches. Midland Railway—Ockbrook and Spondon. From Derby on foot—Chaddesden and Locko Park. From Ilkeston on foot—Kirk Hallam.

CHAPTER II.—THE HERMIT AND THE 'GOME.'

Chief source of the early history—Thomas de Muskham. The Lady Matilda and her narrative. The Baker of Derby—his alms, dream, and removal to Depedale. The Hermitage. St. Mary's Street and Church, Derby. Ralph fitz Geremund's compassion on the Hermit, and grant of the tithe of his mill. The new Hermitage. The episode of the robber's vision of the Golden Cross—his conversion. The genuineness of the narrative. Hermits. The grant of Depedale to the Grendons. The 'Gome' of the Dale—her estate, chapel, and son. Rev. C. Kerry's theory.

CHAPTER III.—THE PRIORY OF DEPEDALE.

Depedale colonized from Calke Priory. The Priory—its possessions and privileges. The Canon's trespasses in the Forest. Forest laws. The Canon's expulsion from Depedale. The first Premontstratensian colony. Their poverty and acquisition of Stanley Park. Baldock Mill. The Prior a bad man; a coiner of false money; his suicide. Depedale again desolate. The second Premontstratensian colony. Misfortunes. The episode of the lamps. Depedale again desolate.

CHAPTER IV.—THE ABBEY OF STANLEY PARK.

The part played by the Lady Matilda. The co-operation of William fitz Ralph and William de Grendon. Depedale bestowed on the new foundation. The convent from Newhouse. The first Abbot. The dedication, seal, and success.

CHAPTER V.—THE ENDOWERS AND THEIR GIFTS.

Mediæval endowers to monasteries, benefactors to the poor. Henry III.'s Confirmation Charter. The Feudal System. Ralph Hanselin and the Bardolphs. Ralph fitz Geremund, the Hermit's protector. William fitz Ralph, sheriff, justice, and Seneschal of Normandy—a benefactor to Darley; his family—Robert, Bishop of Worcester, Avice and Geoffrey de Musters, Matilda and Galfrid de Salicosa-Mara, Edeline and Hubert fitz Ralph, Amelia. The Freschvilles. The Grendons—Serlo and Depedale—William the Clerk—Robert and Matilda of Selston—the family of the latter and their connection with Westminster and Levealand and the custody of the Fleet Prison. Hugh fitz Ralph—his ancestry and lucky marriage—his grants to Dale. The Muschamps, Gresleys, and Ilkeston Cantelupes. Robert de Muschamp—perhaps the father of the author of the *Chronicle*. Other benefactors. Later benefactors—the Trowels and the Kymes; the Stanleys; the Strellys and the Sandiacres. Matthew de Chaddesden.

CHAPTER VI.—A PEEP AT DALE 400 YEARS AGO.

Little Hay. The Malt House. The Brewer. The Infirmary. The Tile-kiln. The Gate-house. The Porter. The Hospitaller. The Abbey and its offices. The Master of the Novices. The Cloister and its surroundings—Chapter-house, Sacristy, Slype, Common-house, Fraternity, &c. John Bebe and his punishment. The Church—its beauty and details. The Font and its cover. Processions. The Lady Chapel—Choir—Chapels of SS. Margaret and Werburgh. Holy Rood altar. Base Court. Conversation with Novice. Abbot Stanley. The present Abbot. The Cellarer. The Guest-hall and its fare. Adieu, Dale!

CHAPTER VII.—THE ABBOTS AND THE SUPPRESSION.

The Foundation Date. The career of the Abbey. Walter de Senteney. William—afterwards Abbot of Premontre and Visitor of the Order. John Grauncorth. Hugh de Lincoln. Simon. Laurence. Richard de Normanton. John de Lincoln. Richard de Normanton again. John Horsley. John Woodhouse. William Horsley. Roger de Kyrketon. William de Boney. Henry Honyash. The Nave clear-story and roof. John Stanley. Richard Nottingham—his provision for his predecessor. John Bebe. Act of Supremacy. Black Hook. Dissolution of smaller Religious Houses—Dale respited. A new Aristocracy. Suppression of Dale Abbey. Its effects and their sale. Debts. Rewards and Pensions to Abbot and inmates. Minister's Accounts. Pension Roll.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE PRESENT REMAINS.

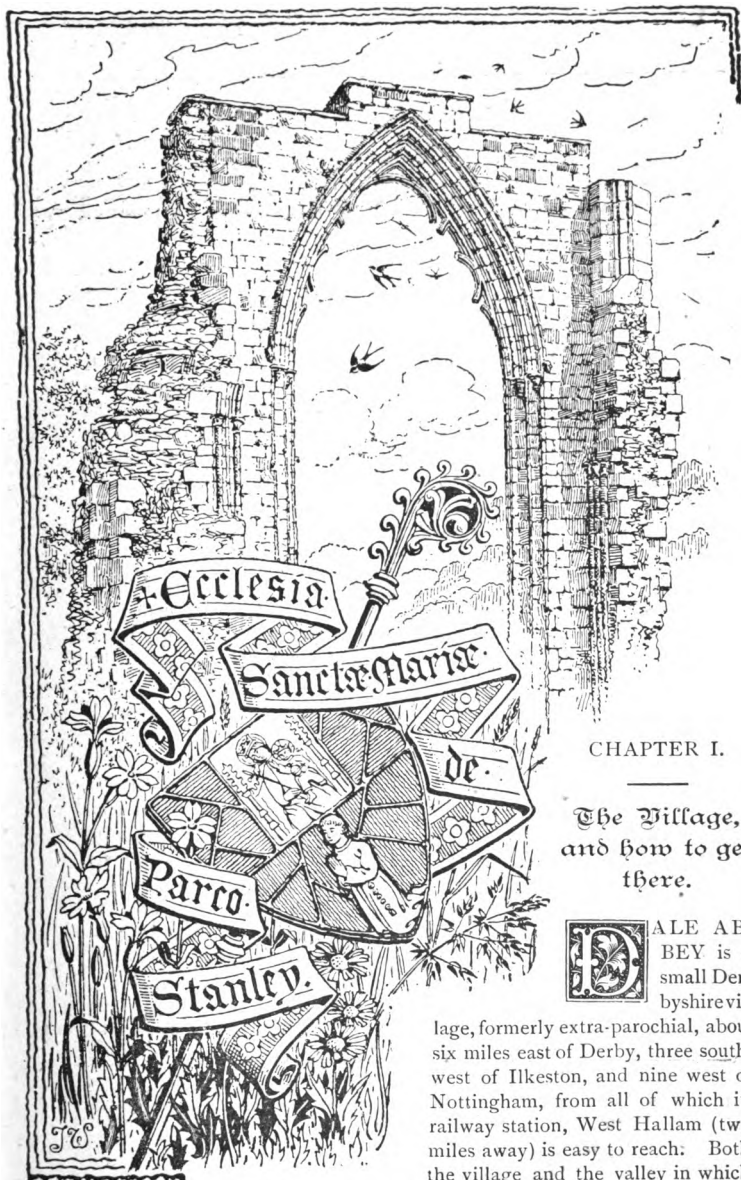
THE ABBEY PROPER.—In Dr. Stukely's time. Now. The Derby Archaeological and Natural History Society's Excavations. Choir. Tower Piers. North Transept and Lady Chapel. South Transept and Chapels of SS. Margaret and Werburgh. The Nave. The Cloister—Chapter-room and monuments, Sacristy, Muniment-room, Slype and Common-room. The Kitchen and other fragments. The Dale remains at Morley—the painted glass, the porch, &c. Carved wood-work at Radbourn. The Encaustic Tiles. Dale remains at Risley, Hathersage.

THE HERMITAGE.—Rock Hermitages. Mr. Kerry's description of the Dale Hermitage. The Hermit's Well.

DALE CHURCH.—Its peculiarities—the Church House once an inn—the 'Bishop's Throne'—the Chalice. The old Church House. The Church—its plan, general features and history. Alterations at various dates, from the Norman period to Modern 'beautifyings.' Peculiarity of its internal arrangement. Mr. Kerry's theory of its origin. Restoration. Registers. Monuments.







CHAPTER I.

The Village,
and how to get
there.



DALE AB-
BEY is a
small Der-
byshire vil-

lage, formerly extra-parochial, about six miles east of Derby, three south-west of Ilkeston, and nine west of Nottingham, from all of which its railway station, West Hallam (two miles away) is easy to reach: Both the village and the valley in which

it is situated, are rural and pretty, and on this account alone are well worth a half-day's visit ; but, of course, the chief attraction are the monastic remains. These consist of fragments of the Abbey Church and Cloister buildings, the curious old Parish Church, once, with little doubt, the Infirmary, and the cave-like Hermitage, where dwelt seven-and-a-half centuries ago the lowly religieux, the starting-point of all. We know nothing of Dale, or as it was anciently called, Depedale, previously to this period, beyond that it was a marshy and lonely place in the midst of an expanse of woodland from Derby to the Erewash, unbroken except for a few scattered villages. The only relic of man's occupancy of an earlier date is the name of the hill on the west side of the road to Stanley—'Arbour Hill.' *Arbour* is from the British *arrhber*,¹ a fortress or earthwork ; hence it carries us back to the distant times that preceded the English invasion. No trace of intrenchments or stockades can now be seen, so Dale is spared the visible reminder of an age of plunder and petty warfare : her warfare, the memory of which was destined to live, was that of the Cross and the Gospel of Peace.

The ACCOMMODATION for visitors is not quite satisfactory ; in fact, the villagers do not by any means make the best of their local advantages. As most of the visitors come for a half-day only, this is not much felt, and a cup of tea may always be obtained with the greatest ease. Mrs. Woods at the Church-house specially caters for the public in this respect, and can well accommodate parties of twenty or thirty.

ACCESS.—As no 'bus or other conveyance meets the trains at West Hallam Station, the best plan for those who wish to forego the two-mile walk to Dale Abbey is to drive the whole journey, if from Derby, Ilkeston, or Nottingham. The following routes are, of course, intended for pedestrians :—

(1) BY GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY from Derby, Ilkeston, or Nottingham. *Station*—West Hallam, two miles north of Dale Abbey. *Route*—Follow the road until it falls ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) into the highway from Spondon to Kirk Hallam ; then take either the stile and footpath a little to the right on the opposite side of the road, or (and still better) a stile about 500 feet further, on the same side—if the *former*, bear to the

¹ A very common hill-name. This root is seen in the numerous "Cold Harbours," and "Harboroughs." Abury and Arborlow seem to have come from the same source. At Harboro' Rocks, near Wirksworth, the writer recently made some excavations on the site of a British village.

right when the coal-pit engine is reached. Immediately south of West Hallam station is a farm-house, *Stanley Grange*, a former grange of the Abbey (see chap. vii.); between it and Dale, so the writer is informed, the track of an ancient road can be traced over the fields. Half a mile nearer Dale, and on the right side, is *Baldock Mill*, which also once belonged to the Abbey (see chap. iii.); the oldest portions of the present fabric are of 17th century date. A detour through the fields behind the mill may be made, instead of following the road; the field-path passes into an occupation road, which crosses the Kirk Hallam road half a mile west of the above-mentioned stile.

WEST HALLAM.—The ancient and beautifully situated church of St. Wilfrid contains several good monuments to the Powtrel family, who suffered much on account of their adherence to the Roman faith. The old Hall, the predecessor of the present one, was a frequent refuge of Romish priests from the time of Elizabeth to Charles II. Father Campion and other leading Jesuits were more than once secreted here. Two priests at the time of Titus Oates's plot were condemned to death for having said mass at the Hall. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment. One of them died years after, of gaol fever at Leicester. x

(2) Also by GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY. *Station*—Breadsall, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Dale Abbey. The chief object of this route is to enable the visitor to see the Dale relics in Morley Church, which should on no account be omitted: it may with advantage be reversed, the Abbey being visited by some other route first, and the return journey made through Morley. There are two ways (each about 2 miles) from Breadsall to Morley: one is the highway by Ferriby Brook; but perhaps the more interesting is the road—a fragment of the great Roman 'street' from Tynemouth to St. David's—on the left side of the Church, which goes to Morley Almshouses and Moor. At the Almshouses ($1\frac{3}{4}$ miles)—before reaching which, the grounds of Breadsall Priory (where formerly was a small Augustine priory) will have been noticed on the left—take the lane to the right. This soon changes into a field-path, in the course of which an ancient burial-mound will be passed on the right. Beyond Morley, the route is the lane to the right of the Church and Rectory, then at the end of half-a-mile, a small lane inclining to the right, which becomes a field-path after 400 yards more. This first passes under the Great Northern Railway, and then becomes a brook-side walk terminating in a road-bridge. On the opposite side of this bridge, take a small lane that again becomes a field-path. A field beyond a large pond and farmhouse on the right will be seen a path to the left leading to a lane; the latter must be followed up on the right to Dale, crossing in doing so, the road from Spondon to Kirk Hallam.

1. For particulars, see *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. iv.

BREADSALL CHURCH.—The tower is a good specimen of Early English; the battlements and spire are later. The south door is Norman, but the body of the church generally is Decorated. The chancel window is a beautiful specimen of Perpendicular. There are some old books chained to a desk at the east end of the aisle; and in the adjacent window-sill is a beautiful alabaster Pieta that was found during some alterations in the chancel a few years ago. Close by the Church is the old Hall, which has some 14th century work.

MORLEY CHURCH (ST. MATTHEW'S).—Apart from the Dale relics, this church is a charming and interesting old structure; and perhaps no other church in the Midlands has so fine a series of monumental brasses. The nave arcades are Norman, but the walls in which they are inserted are older—perhaps Saxon. The chancel, with its east and south windows—the latter now unglazed and opening into a chapel—are Decorated. The rest of the building is of Perpendicular date. The Dale windows and painted glass are in the north aisle (see chap. viii.). There is also some painted glass in the south aisle and chapel, which, however, seems to have been made for this chapel. The floor at the east end of the north aisle is paved with tiles found during the restoration of 1845; most, perhaps all of them, came from the Abbey kiln. The arch of the picturesque porch, is said to have also come from Dale. The churchyard is picturesque, and extremely well cared for; in it are the slender shaft of a cross on steps, and near the tower, a ruined Tudor doorway, a fragment of the mansion of the Stathams and Sacheverels, whose monuments are a chief attraction of the church.

There is no inn in the village itself, but at Morley Smithy half-a-mile away is a curious old inn, with clean and cosy parlour, and hostess who knows how to make a good cup of tea.

(3.) BY MIDLAND RAILWAY FROM DERBY OR NOTTINGHAM. *Station*—Borrowash or Spondon, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 miles respectively south of Dale Abbey. (a.) *Route from the former*—Take the highway, straight and uninteresting, to Ockbrook (1 mile); there inquire for *Little Hay Grange* ($1\frac{1}{4}$ miles)—a farmhouse, formerly a grange of Dale (see chap. v.). Beyond the Grange, the route is an obvious field-path, which after a mile falls into an old cart track going straight ahead in one direction, and to the left in the other. Either way may be taken. If the former, take the stile on the left side of the farm-house (*Boylay Grange*, another ancient Dale property—see chap. ii., v.) that will shortly be reached, and then the left field-path which enters Dale from above the Hermitage. In the field immediately behind the Grange are indications of the old moat and other hollows; and in the left corner is a pond close by the path,—possibly this is the pond of Roger de Alesby and site of the Gome's house (see chap. ii.). If the other way be chosen, follow the track between some deserted farm buildings two fields away—the *Malt House*, once the property of the Abbey (see chap. vi.). Beyond, it continues its left-hand course for two fields more, when it veers round to the right and makes a descent through a coppice to Dale Church.

OCKBROOK has little to attract the passer-by. The tower and spire are the only remaining portions of the ancient fabric of the church. This church was formerly a chapel to Elvaston, and with that Church was granted to Sheldford Priory. The Moravians have had a large settlement here since 1750. This parish will be frequently mentioned in connection with Dale.

(b) *Route from Spondon Station*—Take the Kirk Hallam road (a very uninteresting one) as far as Dunn's Hill ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles), and then the pretty valley-path on the right to Dale Church.

(4.) FROM DERBY ON FOOT.—An extremely pretty walk of $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles may be made by taking the foot-path almost facing the entrance of the New Cemetery on the Nottingham-road, to Chaddesden, where inquire for the bridle-road through Locko Park, the beautifully situated seat of W. Drury Lowe, Esq. When Dunn's Hill is reached follow the valley-path to Dale Church as above.

CHADDESSEN CHURCH is well worth a visit from the ecclesiologist. It is a good specimen of Decorated (14th century) architecture, with Perpendicular additions. To the latter period belong the western extensions of the aisles, the tower, the east window of the south aisle, and its neighbour in the south wall (both *said* to have come from Dale), and the beautiful chancel screen. The interesting stone book-lectern in the chancel, with recess (credence table?) below, and the old chalice-shaped font must not be overlooked. A member of the De Chaddesden family founded a chantry here (see chap. v.), relics of which are the stone altar-pieces, one at the east end of each aisle; that in the north aisle has traces of fresco, and at each end the remains of a bracket that once, no doubt, supported images. Another member was a benefactor to Dale.

(5.) FROM ILKESTON ON FOOT, 3 miles. This admits of little variation, and is by no means picturesque: make for Kirk Hallam and follow the Spondon-road until the branch-road to West Hallam is reached ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles); the footpath on the left is to Dale Abbey (see No. 1). Or a footpath half-a-mile past Kirk Hallam and through Lady Wood farm, may be taken instead.





CHAPTER II.

The Hermit and the 'Gome.'

[1135—1155?]



E are wholly indebted to the ancient *Chronicle* of Dale for the chain of events that led up to the foundation of the religious house, and largely so for the details of the foundation itself. A carelessly-written 15th century transcript of this chronicle, bound up with fragments of a 13th century copy (perhaps the original), a list of the Abbots, and transcripts of deeds, &c., relating to this Abbey, form a small quarto volume, now preserved in the British Museum.¹ Its author was a canon of Dale; and he gives us a clue to his name in the initial letters of the chapters, which consecutively spell, or are intended to spell 'Thomas de Muscam.' We know nothing certain of him beyond what can be culled from the *Chronicle* itself; but there is little doubt he was a scion of the once powerful family of Muschamp or Muskham—a name derived from the village of Muskham, near Newark-on-Trent, where the family held much land from a remote period. His father dedicated him as a boy to the service of God: to use his own words, he "took, in the midst of the flowers of boyhood and youth, the regular habit in this place (i.e. the Abbey) from the Abbot, John Grauncorth,² a venerable father lovely in the eyes of God, and deserving

1. Cott. MS. Vesp. E. 26. It contains nearly 200 leaves. For particulars, see *Hermitages of Depeedale*, and D. A. & N. H. Soc.'s *Journal*, Vol. V. Dugdale gives particulars of its contents.

2. The third Abbot, 1233—1253.

of love from men."¹ And now in the evening of life (late in the 13th century—the date of the *Chronicle*) he loved to ponder on the memories of those days, and to recount the virtues of the "illustrious men" into whose fellowship he was then received. He was a man of literary tastes: his style was clear—everywhere indicating a cultured mind. In his opening passages he sets forth the circumstances under which he wrote. He had recently undergone some great sorrow; and somebody he styles "My very dear brother" having petitioned for an account of the origin of the Abbey, he seized the opportunity not only as "truly virtuous and useful," but also as a means of withdrawing his mind from his sorrow. Hitherto, a history had not been attempted; and it is with "true humility and benevolence" he essays the task, "that our novices and others so inclined, may have the knowledge of past events done in this place in the days of our forefathers, which, if through neglect they should not be committed to writing, might be unknown to prosperity." Then after commenting upon the associates of this Abbot, our author recounts another memory—the visit of the Lady Matilda Salicosa-Mara² the foundress of the Abbey, who, one day when mention was made of the earlier history, related to the convent the story of the Hermit of Depedale.

It is to this effect:—There once lived in the street of St. Mary, Derby, a baker, who on account of his piety and alms-giving, was in a measure another Cornelius³ (an allusion to Acts x.). Week after week, this good man bestowed on the poor,⁴ at the Church of St. Mary, such food and clothing as remained above the passing needs of his household. This went on for years, until at length when reposing one Autumn noon the mother of our Saviour appeared to him in a dream, and said, "Acceptable in the eyes of my Son and of me are the alms thou hast bestowed. But now if thou art willing to be made perfect, leave all thou hast, and go to Depedale, where thou shalt serve my Son and me in solitude; and when thou shalt happily have finished thy course, thou shalt inherit the kingdom of love, joy, and eternal bliss, which God has prepared for those who love Him." Perhaps a long-felt wish for the solitary life was father to the dream, and the dream itself, the seeming response to his wish, for we find that he awoke, thanked God, and with commendable

1. Quotations from the *Chronicle* are contained in double quotation commas. They are as a rule taken from Mr. St. John Hope's translation in the Derby A. & N. H. Soc.'s Journal, Vol. V.

2. This was four years after De Muskham's entrance into the Monastery, or 1238 at the earliest, and 1257 at the latest.

3. Not his name, as Glover made it to be.

4. This he did on the 'Sabbath,' an unusual expression for the period. Mr. St. John Hope renders it as Saturday (?).

promptitude "straightway went forth without saying a word to anyone." A wild, woodland walk brought our baker to the village of Stanley near Dale; but how he should have struck so straight for his destination, seeing that he knew only the name of it, we are not told. But once at Stanley he was overtaken by what he deemed to be a special providence—he heard a woman ordering a girl to take some calves to *Depedale*! He followed, and in another half-hour or so was surveying the lonely spot, a marsh, and far distant from the habitations of men, he was henceforth to call his home. He soon, however, began to do the wisest thing under the circumstances—to scoop out of the soft sandstone rock of the south side of the valley, "a very small dwelling with an altar towards the south," and when finished, he there "served God day and night, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness."

For a moment we will leave the hermit. One point of especial interest in the Lady's narrative, is the reference to St. Mary's Church, Derby. She specifies that "at that time" (*i.e.*, in the hermit's day) this church had a large parish, and had under its authority the Church of Heanor and some chapel. At the date of Domesday Book, Derby had six parishes, whereas in later times it had only five. One of the six ancient parish churches with certain mills and meadows and Heanor Church were confirmed by the Conqueror to Burton Abbey. For some reason or other, these reverted to the Crown in or before John's reign, for he gave the latter church to the Greys of Codnor, and at a little later date we find the mills in the possession of the Dean of Lincoln as Dean of the College of All Saints, Derby. At a similar date—sometime in the earlier half of the 13th century, that is, when the Lady gave her narrative—St. Mary's parish had long been disposed of. Perhaps it was annexed to that of All Saints', for at a later date, 1518, a native of that parish bequeathed 'to our Lady standing in the *chapell* in Sent Mary Gate, xiid. to buy her a kerchief.' This seems to be the ancient parish church reduced to the condition of a chapel dependent on All Saints'. We know nothing of its subsequent history, and its very site is uncertain, but it must not be confounded with the bridge-chapel—'Our Lady of the Bryge'—of St. Mary's Bridge.¹

To return to our hermit. One day the woods of Ockbrook resounded with the baying of hounds and the blast of the bugle; it was Ralph fitz Geremund, Lord of half the town of Ockbrook and of Alvaston-cum-Soka, and grandfather to the Lady Matilda, engaging, after an absence in Normandy, in the great amusement of the day—the chase. Soon, his keen eye caught the curling smoke of the hermit's fire;

1. For full particulars, see *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. IV., pages 10 and 235.

and staggered that anyone should dare to make his dwelling there without his consent, he approached the spot and stood face to face with the hermit, all clad in rags and skins. His misery coupled with his explanations so touched the heart of the knight, that he granted him the spot, and bestowed upon him the tithe of his mill of Burgh—now Borrowash.¹

De Muskham's next bit of history is drawn from Humfrid (perhaps a former canon or lay-brother of the abbey), whom many then living remembered. According to him the hermit suffered from scarcity of water, but at length he had the good fortune to find a spring a little westward of his dwelling-place. Near it "he made for himself a cottage, and built an oratory to the honour of God and the Blessed Virgin." This spring is now known as the 'Hermit's Well;' and there is little doubt, that the present Church and its house mark the site of his cottage and oratory.²

The next paragraph smacks of the fabulous, but it would be folly to deny it a substratum of truth. It is the story of the converted robber,—a sort of prophecy of the future greatness of the place. At that time "the whole country between the bridge of Derby and the water of the Irrawsya (Erewash) was covered with wood," and was infested with a gang of robbers,³ among whom Uthlagus was famous. In their wanderings some of these robbers found themselves on Lyndrik (now Linderidge, a low hill S.W. of the Abbey): there they rested and Uthlagus fell asleep. During his sleep he dreamed that a golden cross stood where the Abbey was afterwards erected, the top reaching heaven and the arms to the uttermost parts of the earth, and that men came from all nations to adore it. He took it as a Divine message, and relating it to his companions, added "Of a truth the Lord is in this place and I knew it not. Children shall be born and shall grow up, and declare to their children the wonderful works that the Lord will perform in this valley: for they shall come, as it hath been revealed to me, from the various nations, to worship the Lord in this valley, and to serve Him until the end of time through a succession of ages." He then declared his intention to amend his life, and embracing them, left them. It was not known with certainty what became of him, "but some, there were, who said he went to Depedale, and there in secret intercourse

1. This mill was still used for corn within the memory of man, but it is now a cotton-mill, the property of the Earl of Harrington.

2. I suspect that the above tithe had more to do with this remove to more convenient and comfortable quarters. An interesting note on this spring will be found in Chap. VIII., under *The Hermitage*.

3. These robbers preyed upon the numerous travellers between Nottingham and Derby.

served the Lord, and with a peaceful end came to His rest." Perhaps we are not far from the truth if we suppose this robber to have been touched from time to time with the simple piety and conversation of the hermit, and that a dream relating to the sanctity of the place, that his troubled conscience gave rise to, completed the work of conversion and decision to follow in the good man's footsteps.

We will here break off awhile from the narrative. Monkish annalists have, in the popular mind, come into such bad repute, as being given to all sorts of exaggerations and fables, that it is not surprising some should question the genuineness of this account. But it should be remembered that (1) the earlier fragments of the *Chronicle* are in a late 13th century hand, hence if not parts of the original MS., they must have been copied from it within a very few years. (2) The personal references exactly fit in with those that come from other sources. (3) Who more likely than Matilda de Salicosa-Mara to know the early history of the place? Her own grandfather befriended the hermit; her father, uncle and cousin, each did a part to render the final Abbey possible.¹ (4) Then there was Humfrid; if he did not actually know the hermit, he was a neighbour of the 'Gome of the Dale' (to be noticed shortly) who held Depedale and whose chapel was on the site of, or alongside the second hermitage and oratory. Many in the monastery remembered him; was it likely that De Muskham would appeal to him if his honesty and truthfulness were doubted? (5) And lastly, both hermitage and tithe were facts at the time.

A word upon *hermits*. Up till the middle of the 13th century hermits were unorganized and observed no authorized rule, and any man who had no temporal ties and chose from pious motives to live a solitary life, was esteemed one. But at the above time, Pope Innocent IV. decreed that all such solitaries and certain small religious communities, should be placed under a modified St. Augustine's rule, and enrolled as a new order under the name of Eremiti Augustini. Those who afterwards lived in community were popularly known as Austin Friars. Henceforth no man could become a hermit except by a lawful appointment, nor could any appointment take place unless there was a hermitage to be filled. This decree brought about a corresponding change in the hermit himself. He was, unless the dependent of some monastery, now habited in the garb of his order. His house was comfortable. He had a pension or an estate for his maintenance, and frequently, a servant or two, and a chaplain to pray for him,—Who would not have been a hermit? Nevertheless, romance and the popular imagination continued

1. The parts these played will be considered shortly.

to paint the hermit in very different colours : he was a contemplative, and like Sir Launcelot's hermit, 'sometime a noble knight and a great lord of possessions, and for the great goodness he hath taken unto him wilful poverty, and hath forsaken his possessions ;' or as Piers Ploughman—

'as holy eremites,
That lived wild in woods, with bears and lions.

• All these holy eremites were of high kin,
Forsook land and lordship, and likings for the body.

And he complains that the hermits of his day

'that edify by the highways,
Whilome were workmen,—webbers and tailors,
And carter's knaves, and clerks without grace.
They held a hungry house, and had much want ;
Long labour and light winnings. And at last espied
That lazy fellows in friars' clothing had fat cheeks.'

The typical hermit of the Middle ages, if less romantic than the one we have pictured, was certainly more useful ; in fact, good works were his chief characteristic. His hermitage was usually placed where he could be of some service to his fellow-men, especially to travellers, as by a bridge, a ford, a marsh, or at the meeting of ways in some dense forest, and even in the heart of a great city. The *Chronicle* tells us that the country around Depedale was forest-land, and was frequented by travellers between Derby and Nottingham. It is therefore highly probable that our hermit made it his mission to act as a guide, and if such was the case, Ralph fitz Ghermund was a benefactor to the public in granting him the title of his mill.¹

We now return to the *Chronicle*. The next episode is the grant of the Ockbrook estate to Serlo de Grendon (the Grendons will have a full notice later) on his marriage with Ralph fitz Ghermund's daughter, Margaret. Now Serlo had an aunt who was also his god-mother (from which circumstance she was popularly known as *The "Gome of the Dale"*²). and to her he assigned for life, "the place of Depedale with its appurtenances, and all the land cultivated and waste which is between the lane that extendeth from the north gate of Boyha towards the west as far as Le Cockeysithe and Brunsbroc"³—in all,

1. For an interesting chapter on Hermits, see Cutt's *Middle Ages*. Numerous examples may be culled from Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

2. An old English abbreviation for Godmother, just as 'granny' is now for grandmother.

3. The sites of these are quite uncertain. A field above the Church is called the Cockshot. There is a farmhouse considerably east of the Malthouse, called Burnwood. The brook that flows through Ockbrook is sometimes called Barnes' Brook.

perhaps about 60 acres. Depedale was not the whole of the valley : the Abbey, for instance, was erected in Stanley Park, "*contiguous* to the ancient place of Depedale." The one belonged to Ockbrook, the other to Stanley ; and probably the Sow Brook that flows between Dale village and Church was the boundary. Boyhay or Boghay (now Boya), that is, the boggy enclosure or place hedged-in, is now a farmhouse in a dimple on the top-lands, about half-a-mile to the south-east of the Church. A little later we find that the Grendons had a house here ; but if built at the date we are dealing with, it must have been but recently, for when the hermit came, Depedale, "was far distant from any habitation of man ;" and the words "cultivated and waste" hint at the partial redemption from the wild. The Gome's son, Richard, was a priest, and he ministered in her chapel at Depedale. Her house was evidently away from the chapel, but all traces of it had disappeared in De Muskham's day.¹ *Her chapel*: tradition has constantly made it to be the present church, and to mark the site of the second hermitage and oratory. The Rev. Chas. Kerry² considers that 'it is not likely, even were the hermit dead, that she (the Gome) would ruthlessly lay violent hands on the sacred but humble retreat of the recluse, consecrated by so much devotion, but would rather seek to attach her new chapel to his oratory, so as to place her sanctuary under the shadow of a building consecrated by so much devotion ; . . . and, of course, her chapel being for sacramental purposes, would have a chancel.' There is very little doubt, however, that the hermit was dead ; still as there is good reason to think that he had successors to his hermitage, Mr. Kerry's conclusion must be considered sound, and it certainly in a remarkable way explains the peculiarities of the structure.

1. It was situated "in the upper part of our garden towards the south, in the place where there is now a pond" (Roger de Alesby's—a canon of Dale). De Muskham states that when this pond was made, many worked stones of the house were found.

2. *Hermitages of Depedale*, a reprint, now very scarce, from the *Reliquary*, Vol. XXI.





CHAPTER III.

The Priory of Depedale.

[1150—1197.]

THE Hermit, the 'Gome,' and Serlo de Grendon, each played a part in making Depedale a Priory. The Hermit played his unconsciously; he made Depedale a holy place.¹ The 'Gome' first conceived the idea, or at least took the initiative, of making it the residence of holy men; and her idea found a ready response in her nephew and godson, Serlo, who at her instance and under her management granted the place to the Augustine Canons of Calke, near Melbourne. This grant took place, according to De Muskham, "when the house of Kale was the mother-church of Repington (Repton)." This can be explained: Matilda, Countess of Chester gave Repton Church and a quarry to the Canons of Calke, upon condition that they should as soon as possible remove their convent to Repton, and make their old priory a cell dependent upon it. This grant was made sometime when Walter Durdent was Bishop of Coventry (1149-61), and the older remains of Repton Priory are certainly of middle twelfth century date. But we can reduce the foundation of Depedale Priory to narrower limits: in 1157 the canons of Depedale were excused some payment into the Exchequer², hence it must have been founded between

1. It was by no means unfrequent that a hermitage preceded a priory or abbey. Cf. Pipewell, Kirkstall, Llanthony, Hazelborough, Bissmede, &c.

2 See *Pipe Roll* for this year.

1149 and 1157—a date considerably earlier than that usually assigned. The Augustine or Black Canons—so called on account of their habit, which consisted of a long black cassock, cloke and hood—were a new starting-point in the monasticism of the West, the older orders being Benedictine. In their first intention the Augustine rules were designed to regulate the lives of the non-monastic clergy, especially those living in community, as at cathedrals and collegiate churches; whence the life was *canonical* or according to rule. Ultimately a more decided monastic tendency gave rise to the *canons regular*, such as those of Depedale and Calke. The Augustine rule was milder than that of St. Benedict.

The little colony of Depedale consisted of a prior and five canons, one of whom was Richard, the 'Gome's' son. In due course they built a church, "a costly labour, and other offices"; and their prior obtained from the Roman Court, those privileges of a full-fledged monastery—the right to bury and perform the divine office when the land was under an interdict,—a "most valuable privilege" in those days, when an interdict meant closed church doors, silent bells, dusty altars, veiled images, unconsecrated burials—anywhere except in the churchyard, and the merciless threats of future retribution as well. Albinus (1154-1176), first Abbot of Darley (an Augustine abbey near Derby) was a benefactor in some way to this priory: perhaps his gift consisted of rich hangings or stained glass, which were still treasured up in De Muskham's day.

Depedale even then was famous; not only did the Grendons, "but many others, noble and simple, begin to frequent the place, to endow it largely with their goods, and at their decease to leave their bodies to be buried there." Among the buried, was Peter Cook, of Bathley, hermit, "a man of sanctified memory," and of whose deeds our author hoped one day to write. We know but little of the possessions of this colony. It certainly held the 'Gome's' Depedale estate, subject, no doubt, to a pension or corrody of food and clothing for her maintenance while she lived; a small piece of ground called Chacemore, and the Boyhay estate.¹

A spot so pleasant, so snugly secluded from the haunts of men, so conveniently near a forest well stocked with deer and other game, and the canons *human* as well as 'religious,'—small wonder that after "many courses of years," they should begin "to frequent the forest more than the church; to be more intent upon the amusement than the improvement of their minds, and to hunting than to prayer!" A forest in

1. The latter is proved by the explanation given for the poverty of the second colony, as partly owing to the lord of Ockbrook retaining this estate and mansion.

Mediæval parlance was not merely a large wood; it was a tract of country, not necessarily woodland, kept in a virgin condition for 'beasts of forest' 'beasts of chase', and 'beasts and fowls of warren', and placed under a code of laws—the tyranical Forest laws—distinct from those of the nation, and with its own special courts and officers. The starting-point of these laws was the Norman maxim that the King was the ultimate proprietor of the soil,—hence the payment of the relief by which the heir of the tenant-in-chief obtained his inheritance, and the escheat of the tenancy to the King if the tenant died heirless. By a similar process of reasoning all untenanted lands, such as the virgin forests and wastes, were said to be in the King's hands; and the principle was carried to the wild animals—the direct property of no subject—and therefore he alone had the right to take them. This right he could grant to others,—as in the franchises of *free warren* or *free fishery*; or he could grant a *chase* in the forest, or the privilege of enclosing a *park* elsewhere. The Peak Forest was a notable example of a forest, and many are the records, the traditions, and the place-names that keep alive its memory. But it is quite otherwise with that of our text—not even is there now the lingering tradition of its former existence! This forest may have been of but a transient character. From Henry I. to Edward I., the Forest Laws were a constant grievance, and chief factor in every insurrection. The popular wrath was exceptionally strong against the forests made by Rufus, and in subsequent reigns a loud cry was raised for the disafforestation of these newer ones. It is quite possible that *this* forest was one of these, and at an early stage was disafforested. In Lyson's *Derbyshire* there is a list of the Derbyshire deer parks of the 14th century, of which the following—Kirk Hallam, Mapperley, Kidsley, Heanor (several), Ilkeston (two), Denby, Shipley (two), Stanley, Locko, Horsley and Breadsall—not only occupied but practically filled up the whole district, thus corroborating the character given to it by the *Chronicle*. It would seem, then, that somehow this forest was broken up into parks and bestowed upon the neighbouring landowners, the king reserving only that of Horsley and its castle to his own use.

It is not surprising then, that the depredations of these canons coming to the King's ears, should bring upon them his vengeance. They must go! His deer must be preserved—Priory or no Priory! There was nothing left for them, but to resign their possessions into the hands of their patron and return to whence they came. Their Prior "betook himself to La Magdalen (wherever that may have been) and there lived the life of a hermit many days," perhaps as a penance for his remissness.

Depedale was desolate!—how long, we do not know; it may have been for weeks, it may even have been for years. But at length its bells again announced the daily round of service; and the ear caught the weird tones of Gregorian chant, and now and again might have been seen the fleeting figures of its new residents, in *white*, not in black as heretofore.¹ For Serlo's son and successor, William de Grendon, had planted a colony—six canons and a prior—of the new and popular Premonstratensian order from the Monastery of Tupholm in Lincolnshire. This order was a reformed offshoot of the Augustine tree: it was founded half a century previously by St Norbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, at Premontre in that great hive of western Monachism, France, and introduced into England some twenty years later. At the date of our narrative it was in the zenith of its popularity.

From the first, poverty was the greatest enemy that the new residents had to fight against, and unsuccessfully too, for after a seven years' struggle it drove them away. Two reasons are given for their poverty,—the lord of Ockbrook retained Boyhay to himself, the Canons holding only the Gome's lands and Chacemore; and they “were much incommoded by the frequent visits of the keepers of the forest, and of others.” Hospitality to all comers was a first law of all monasteries, and frequently it imposed a burden the house could ill meet. This Priory, however, was enriched by the acquisition of Stanley Park. The extent of this park can be roughly traced; the Abbey was built upon its southern margin, and Baldock Mill (near West Hallam Station) built by a lay-brother of these canons, must have been near its northern boundary. A park in the olden times, it should be observed, was a tract of land fenced-in (imparked) and privileged by royal grant for beasts of chase.

The Prior was both a clever and bad man; he was a coiner of false money, and his moral character would not bear investigation. When the Priory was given up he refused to return with his brethren to Tupholm, but he was soon found and taken before his abbot by force, and finally he committed suicide. Again was Depedale not only desolate, but “stained and sallow.”

William de Grendon now made another attempt to colonize the place. Five canons of the same order were brought from Welbeck,² Nottinghamshire, amongst whom was William de Hagneby, who, in the final Abbey, was Prior when De Muskham put on the habit. Although

1. The white habit was said to have been prescribed by St. Mary.

2. In 1512 the Abbot of Welbeck was made head of the Order in England.

poverty had again to be battled against, the chief character of their five years' residence was bad luck, and finally they left on account of it. The following brings out the superstitious notions of the age: by some means, in drawing up the lamps that were suspended before the altar, they all fell down and were broken into fragments. The Prior was called into the auditory or parlour, the only place where conversation was allowed; and permission to speak being granted, the matter was rehearsed. He concluded that it was time for them to leave the place, "for nothing happened prosperous," and, perchance "the Lord had judged them unworthy, or had reserved them for better things." Shortly afterwards the Abbot made a visit to the Priory, and he found them "enduring a life of great poverty, possessing few things in the granary, and fewer still for the bakehouse and the brewery." He was much concerned for them, and reproached himself that his brethren should be "perishing with hunger and thirst in the deserts," while at home there was plenty. So to Welbeck they returned. And Depedale was again desolate!





CHAPTER IV.

The Abben of Stanley Park.

[1197—1199.]



IN spita of the three unsuccessful attempts to establish a religious colony, and the episode of the fallen lamps—which even in our own precise and scientific times would pass for an omen of bad luck, Depedale was not to remain a waste. William de Grendon had done his best; it was, useless, however, to repeat the experiment under the like conditions. But now appears upon the scene, one in whom the proverb, ‘A friend in need, is a friend indeed,’ is well fulfilled—the Lady Matilda Salicosa-Mara, cousin to William de Grendon, and daughter of William fitz Ralph (son and heir of Ralph fitz Geremund) of whom she and her husband, Galfrid, held Alvaston. How her interest in Depedale was first enlisted we cannot say; probably her cousin had often mentioned his troubles to her. However, about this time her father purchased the village of Stanley from Nicholas Chyld,¹ and his intention was to bestow it upon Matilda and her husband. Now they had been married more than seven years and were childless, and in consequence of this, when this purpose of her father came to their ears, they made a vow that this acquisition should be devoted to God. They laid the matter before him, and desired him as their lord to confirm this gift of Stanley to the Premonstratensians, and to be disposed to build a religious house of that Order in his park of Stanley,—“that

1. For particulars of this family, see Chapter V.

God, the most High, the retributor of good deeds, looking down upon the pious devotion of our humility, may grant us the blessing of wished-for progeny, and on account of this benediction, grant to us and to you the bliss of eternal life." He took it that their hearts were inspired of God, and at once determined to carry out the suggestion. He therefore conferred with William de Grendon his Ockbrook tenant, in whose gift was Depedale, with a view to the annexation of the Priory and its belongings to the new house:—"I purpose by the advice of my friends, to found a house of the order of the Premonstratensians in my park of Stanley, immediately adjacent¹ to that ancient place of Depedale of which you are the patron, and where three congregations of religious men have successively flourished; all of whom being attacked and driven away by intolerable poverty, have left the spot desolate. And I most truly am persuaded that you will bestow that place upon my new foundation; so that between thee and me, we may provide out of our lands and possessions . . . that the religious men who shall be called thither, may not be compelled by necessity to beg or to change their situation."

It hardly need be said that William de Grendon rejoicingly met the wishes of his uncle,—“Blessed be the name of the Lord, who hath inspired you with so pious a purpose, and blessed by God may they be who have given you this blessed counsel! . . . And I will bestow the house of Depedale upon your new house, and all its appurtenances which are mine to grant.” But he made one condition, “that a priest of the congregation² (*i.e.* of the proposed Abbey) shall every day in perpetuity, within the chapel of Depedale (which they must keep in repair) celebrate mass for my soul, and for the souls of my ancestors and successors, and for the souls of all those who are at rest in Christ; and, further, that upon the great table in the refectory there shall be placed one prebend of conventual bread, beer and companage to be distributed to the poor.”

These, William fitz Ralph promised, should be inviolably executed. The way was then clear for active operations. This knight “being occupied both beyond sea (he was Seneschal of Normandy) and on this side of it, in the business of the King,” could not find time to attend to the proposed foundation; he therefore made his daughter, Matilda, and her husband his executors in the matter, and in due course armed them with the necessary “charters and other instruments.”

1. Clearly implying that the Abbey is not on the site of the Priory.

2. Mr. Kerry makes him the ‘founder of a chantry in the Hermitage Chapel’—*D.A. & N.H. Society’s Journal*, Vol. X, p. 20.

The executors then repaired to Newhouse Abbey, Lincolnshire, the oldest Premonstratensian house in England, "to lead forth a convent," that is, a body of monks or canons duly organised as a separate society. They were well received by Abbot Lambert, "a man of the highest prudence, true to his word, just in his judgment, provident in counsel; . . . who so instructed his monks in the sweetness of heavenly intercourse, that it might truly be said with the Apostle that their conversation was in heaven." Having explained their mission he held a council with his brethren and granted them nine canons to establish the order at Depedale. Of these, Walter de Senteney, the first Abbot of Dale, was "a man of the highest piety," who had previously established the order at St. Agatha (Easby, Yorks.) with a convent from Newhouse: he had also been somewhere else, not expressed in transcript. His companions were John de Byford, the associate of Peter de Gousel, the founder of Newhouse; Roger de Alesby, whose name was afterwards linked with the pond on the site of the 'Gome's' house; William le Sores, and others.

Here the *Chronicle* concludes with the appropriate words—"These, O Dale, were thy living stones, thy chosen stones, the stones precious in the foundation of thy church; which stones are jointed with that mighty Corner-stone, our Lord Jesus Christ."

The date of this event—this final crowning of the hermit's piety and of the struggles and perseverance of half a century, with success—is variously given, as 1198—1204; but the former date is probably nearer the truth. For a time the new colony sojourned at Depedale. Meanwhile in Stanley Park hard by, a noble church, cathedral-like in shape and size, with the numerous offices of a large monastery nestling under its shadow had slowly risen. For three centuries or more will this new Abbey run its round of prayer and praise, fast and feast, work and leisure, life and death, without break or hindrance until it comes to its end in the general dissolution of the religious houses, which, it has been truly said, marks the beginning of the modern period.

At first the new Abbey was officially known as that of Stanley Park. The seal had a representation of St. Mary (to whom the Abbey was dedicated) with the Infant Jesus, and below, a monk in the attitude of prayer, with this legend,—"*S. Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ De Parco Stanlei.*" The memory of the old spot, however, clung to the new Abbey, and soon the new name gave way to the more popular abbreviation of Depedale, *Dale*.



CHAPTER V.

The Endowers and their Gifts.

CENTRAL DATE 1235.

IT may be said—and with some truth, too—that selfishness was predominant in the Mediæval benefactor to a religious foundation; that the element of barter underlay both the gift of the giver and the prayer of the monk,—‘If you will pray and sing masses for the repose of my soul, I will pay you in broad acres!’ Is it agreed?—then let the charters be prepared, and the compact be notoriously bounden on either side! Be it so; yet the common people were the chief gainers, for with all the faults of the monastics, it cannot be laid to their charge that they lacked hospitality,—that the poor were not fed, the orphan educated, and the wearied wayfarer housed at their hands; nor can it be denied that the system was the most effective power towards the amelioration of the masses and the dissemination of learning. No better proof of this can be needed than the general dissatisfaction of the poorer classes at Henry VIII.’s suppression of these establishments, and which in the North gave rise to the formidable ‘Pilgrimage of Grace.’ Dale was no exception to the rule: we have already observed that William de Grendon made provision for daily food for the poor; and at a later date (1344) the grant of the half rectory of Eggington was made to enable the Abbey to meet the increased demands on its hospitality.¹ For these reasons, if for no others, these Mediæval endowers are worthy to be

1. *Litchfield Episcopal Registers. Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. IV., page 186.

held in remembrance; and obviously this little work would be incomplete without a chapter devoted to them and their gifts. Excepting a few small grants of a later date, our standpoint now is 1235, the year of Henry III.'s Charter reciting and confirming all donations made up to that time, and thus giving in compact form the possessions of the Abbey.

The community of interests and the reciprocity of obligations between tenant and landlord under the Feudal System render it difficult to understand the feudal and social position of the one without a reference to the other.¹ The reader must therefore be introduced to Ralph fitz Geremund's feudal superior, Ralph Hanselin, with whom he is usually confounded.

RALPH HANSELIN was a successor, perhaps grandson, of the Domesday Goisfred Alselin, who held of the King—Elvaston, Alvaston, Thulston and Ambaston, as one Manor, Ednaston and Hulland, as another, Eggington and Ockbrook, as two others, a soke in Etwall, and St. Michael's Church, Derby (all in Derbyshire); three manors in Yorks., eighteen in Notts., sixteen in Lincolnshire and five in Leicestershire. For some reason unexplained as yet, this Baron did not inherit all these estates, for we find that so far as Derbyshire is concerned, he received only two-thirds of his patrimony, the remainder coming to Robert de Cauz, who was, possibly, a relative. This early

1. A few words upon the Feudal system will not be out of place. It was a fundamental maxim of the Norman lawyers that the King was the *lord paramount*—that is, ultimate proprietor of the soil. What was not retained in his own hands, was held of him by others, who were hence called *tenants*; and as he was the chief landlord, they were *tenants-in-chief*. When they sublet portions of their land to others, *they* in their turn became lords (*mesne* or intermediate lords) to these *their* tenants and vassals. The process may be repeated again and again. In each step the tenant vowed *fidelity* to his lord, and the lord was bound to protect his tenant. The modes of holding or tenures were various. Of lay tenures, the chief and most noble was *chivalry*, wherein the tenant performed military service to his lord. For the better carrying out of this service, it became customary to estimate the tenement as consisting of so many knight's fees; the tenant finding a fully equipped knight and retinue for each fee, to serve his lord in the field when called upon,—the duration of such service not to exceed 40 days in the year. The knight's fee was not a *measure* nor a *value* of land; originally it represented an annual value, but as the land varied in the course of time, the knight's fee ceased to have any close relation to it. Personal service not always being convenient, it became customary to make a pecuniary composition for it, which at first was arbitrary, but afterwards was levied as an assessment at so much a fee: such payments were called *scutages*. *Soccage* was also a tenancy held by free service, but unlike chivalry it was *certain*, as the payment of an annual rent, or the ploughing of a field for so many days in the year. *Villinage*: in this the service was not free, but base, such as a villein performed. The villein of a manor were either of the superior sort that were attached to the soil and held their lands for life at a fixed rent, from which the present copyhold tenures are derived; or they were attached to their lord's person—belonging to him precisely as his chattels and cattle did, and disposable, much after the same manner. Such held their strips of land at his will, and were known as *villeins in cros*.

partition of the Alselln barony (which took place on or before Ralph Hanselin's succession to it sometime between 1130 and 1136) must not be overlooked by the county historian, for it is responsible for changes and transfers that otherwise would be inexplicable.¹ Little is known of this nobleman: he was a leader on Stephen's side in the battle of the Standard, and he founded the Priory of Shelford, his chief seat, near Nottingham, to which he granted the advowson of Elvaston Church, the Chapel of Ockbrook, and lands in Alvaston and Elvaston. He died shortly before 1171, leaving his vast possessions to Thomas Bardolf, who married his only daughter, Rose. The Bardolfs were an influential and important family of Norfolk and Suffolk. One of them was a counsellor of the haughty Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, to whom Richard I committed much of the government in his absence. The son of the above Thomas and Rose became Baron of Wormgay, Norfolk, by marriage with the heiress of William Warren. Another descendant adhered to Henry III. in the Barons' wars, and was made prisoner at Lewes. The last descendant of the name took part in the futile attempt of the Earl of Northumberland, Archbishop of York, and others, in 1405, to place Mortimer, Earl of March, upon the Throne. This led to his execution a few years later, and the confiscation of his possessions to the Crown. Subsequently the lordships that belonged to Ralph Hanselin, with Birling in Sussex, were restored to his two daughters, who married Sir Wm. Clifford and Sir Wm. Phillip—Elvaston and Alvaston belonging to the latter in Henry VI.'s reign, and under him the manor of Elvaston was held by the Blounts, and that of Alvaston by the Freshvilles.²

From the lord to the tenant. We know little of RALPH FITZ GEREMUND, the Hermit's protector, and still less of his ancestry. His name first crops up early in Henry II's reign in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, where he is certified to hold two fees of the old feoffment (i.e. fees granted his family before Stephen's reign) of Ralph Hanselin, and half a similar fee of Robert de Cauz. The names of the places so held are not given, but they are in part supplied by De Muskham, who speaks of this gentleman as "Lord of half the vill of Ockbrook, and of Alvaston cum soka." At the date of the Domesday

1. See the first *Pipe Roll*. In the subsequent rolls and *Certificates*, Ralph Hanselyn and his successors are accountable for 25 fees; Robert de Cauz for 12½. For particulars and a probable explanation, see *Feudal History*, Vol. 1, page 322-334.

2. *Inquest. post mort.*, 19 Hen. VI. The Abbots of Da'e and Darley each held also a fee of him. The Blounts ultimately sold the manor of Elvaston to the Poles of Radburn, and in or about 1539 it passed to the Stanhopes (Earls of Harrington), to whom it still remains, the Castle being one of their seats.

Book, as already observed, Alvaston and Ockbrook formed part of Alselin's manor of Elvaston; but previous to the time we are dealing with—perhaps when the Hanselin-Cauz partition took place—Alvaston was made a separate manor, and annexed with its chapel to St. Michael's, Derby, and under its manorial jurisdiction, *i.e.*, 'soke,' were placed certain Alselin lands in the parishes of Etwall, Egginton, Elvaston proper, and Ockbrook. These constituted the Alvaston-cum-soka, of which Fitz Geremund (who was probably an heir of Alselin's great tenant of Egginton and Etwall, Azelinus) was mesne lord, Ralph Hanselin retaining in his own hands the manor of Elvaston proper and his portion of Ockbrook. Ockbrook shared in the above mentioned partition; Hanselin having the southern parts of the parish, with the village and chapel, and Cauz the northern. It was the latter portion that Ralph fitz Geremund held as tenant, and which he bestowed on his daughter and her husband, Serlo de Grendon, as her marriage portion. How it passed from the Grendons to the Abbey has been sketched; it will be more fully explained when we come to that family.

His son and heir was WILLIAM FITZ RALPH, a gentleman who, unlike the father, stands out clearly in contemporary history. We know nothing of his early life¹, but to judge from his successful career which culminated in the office of Seneschal of Normandy, he must, as a child, have had an aptitude for learning. For twelve years 1167—1189, he held the high office of Sheriff of the counties of Nottingham and Derby², during the last three years of which, Serlo de Grendon, the brother-in-law just mentioned or *his* son, acted as his deputy. A public duty of no mean responsibility, which he in common with Richard Mantel, fulfilled in 1170 and 1171, amply proves his capacity for office,—it was that of accounting for the pannage, *i.e.*, the proceeds of the acorns, and beech and other nuts for feeding swine, of the King's forests throughout England.³ We next meet with him as a justice, holding for several years a foremost position on the King's Bench, until (in 1180, according to Madox) his preferment to the dignity of Seneschal or Dapifer of Normandy⁴, an office which also included that of Chief Justiciary. The reader will recollect that his business with the King on both sides of the sea compelled him to appoint his

1. The earliest mention of his name—if it refers to this Fitz Ralph—is in the *Pipe Roll* for 1165.

2. *Pipe Rolls*.

3. *Ib.* 18 Hy. II.

4. He is mentioned as such in the *Pipe Roll* for 1183, the *Rotuli Normannie* for 1198, the *Rot. de Finibus* for 1199, the *Rot. Chart.* for 1200, &c.

daughter Matilda and her husband, executors in the foundation of Dale Abbey. As Senechal, he resided in great state at the castle of Caen, the chief city of Lower Normandy, where was held the King's Court. One little circumstance brings out at once the confidence reposed in him by Richard I., and his integrity of character: when this King went to the Holy Land he placed his fiancé, the Princess Aliz, sister to the King of France, in his charge, and he subsequently, unlike many others, stood firm to the absent King, and resolutely refused to deliver her up to his brother John.¹ He was a benefactor to Darley Abbey as well as to Dale, bestowing upon it St. Michael's Church, Derby, the Chapel of Alvaston, and a mill and lands in that parish, the arrangement then entered into to meet the spiritual wants of the parishioners causing in later times much discontent.²

He had at least six children. Robert fitz Ralph,³ his only son, was Prebendary of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Nottingham. Through the influence of his friend, Longchampe, Bishop of Ely, and Lord Chancellor and favourite of Richard I., he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1191. He died in 1193, and is said to be buried in that Cathedral.⁴ His daughter Avice, was married to Geoffrey Musters who received with her, her father's half manor and rectory of Eggington.⁵ They subsequently made over the advowson of this rectory to Dale. Matilda and Galfrid de Salicosa-Mara have already come before the reader's notice. They received much land in Alvaston, which she as a widow bestowed on the Abbey.⁶ It has been noticed that William fitz Ralph purchased Stanley with the intention of granting it to Matilda and her husband, but at their request it went to the Abbey instead. There is a statement in the *Pipe Roll* for 1178 that throws a light upon this transaction: a Ralph Juvenis (Child)⁷ is there said to hold Stanley and to be an outlaw, and the Sheriff, William fitz Ralph, accounted 8/2 for his goods. Of course, as Sheriff, he was in a good position to purchase the estate from the next-of-kin, probably the Nicholas Child of the text. Another daughter, Edeline, was married to Hubert fitz Ralph, Baron of Crich, and a chief benefactor of Darley Abbey (died 1224). He had at least two other daughters, one, Amelia, gave land at Boulton to Darley; they, probably, never married.

1. Madox.

2. *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. III., page 137.

3. Note that *fitz Ralph* has now become the permanent family name.

4. *Green's History of Worcester*; *Stubbs's Reg. Sac. Anglic.* He is mentioned as 'Roberti Episcopi mei fratri' in the deed of Matilda de Salicosa-Mara.

5. See *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. IV.

6. *Dale Chartulary*—see forward.

7. See page 40 for particulars of this family.

According to Madox, William fitz Ralph died in 1200; he certainly was dead before 1219, for in that year we find his three heirs, Avice, Matilda, with their husbands, and Hubert fitz Ralph (his wife, Edelina, evidently being dead), granting lands at Alvaston, Elvaston, and Ambaston, on an assize of *Mort d'ancestor*.¹ Meagre as is the information concerning his personal character, it indicates his as a noble mind, a true heart, and an active and social temperament; and that while his public career was crowned with the greatest success, he was by no means unmindful of his duties towards his God.

His daughter, Matilda, was married to Galfrid de Salicosa-Mara, shortly before the last decade of the 12th century;² both were living in 1219, and probably also in 1235 when Henry III. confirmed the grants made to the Abbey. She outlived her husband; for as a widow and without children, she made over all she held in Alvaston to it.³ She died before 1252. Several small gifts of land and messuages were made to the Abbey in her husband's name; these were situated at Sandiacre, Ockbrook, Stanton, and Nottingham. Avice, her sister, seems also to have died childless, for William fitz Ralph's possessions descended at length to his great-grandson (the grandson of his daughter Edelina and Hubert fitz Ralph), Ralph de Freschville, in which well-known family, Alvaston remained for nearly 200 years.⁴

THE GRENDONS.—To judge from the frequency of the name in ancient records, they must have been a wide-spread family, but little else can be said of them beyond the statements of the *Chronicle*. At an early date (Henry I.—Stephen) a Roger de Grendon held a fee in Derbyshire of the Ferrers⁵; but we are not told where. The Serlo de Grendon who married Margaret, the daughter of Ralph fitz Geremund, is described as the "Lord of Badeley;" a place which, in consequence of a marginal reading *Bradeley juxta Ashbourne*, in a 17th century hand, is usually assumed to be that village. The writer is unable to find any traces of the family there, as also at a Badley in Suffolk. The only alternative is Bathley, near North Muskham, and this has some countenance from the burial of Peter Cook, the anchorite

1. *Calendar of Fines*: D. A. and N. H. Soc.'s *Journal*, Vol. VII.

2. At least seven years before the foundation of the Abbey. He is mentioned in the *Pipe and Patent Rolls* of 16 and 17 John.

3. Dale *Chartulary*; she granted for the love of God, and for the souls of her father, mother, husband, Robert the bishop her brother, Wilelma and Odelina her sisters, &c., all her domain with meadow and pasture land in the vil of Alvaston.

4. Hubert fitz Ralph confirmed the Grendon grants to Dale, and one of the Freschvilles, the Fitz Ralph grants to Darley.

5. *Certificates*.

of that place, at Depedale; but against it must be set the absence of evidence that the Grendons ever had property there. His wife's dowry, the half vil of Ockbrook, which her father and afterwards her brother, their feudal lords, held of Robert de Cauz and his successor, was the northern portion of Ockbrook parish, and comprised Depedale; Littlehay, Boyhay, and Chacemoor.¹ The story of Depedale—how Serlo de Grendon bestowed it upon his aunt, the 'Gome of the Dale,' and how she in her turn made it the site of a priory, has been sufficiently told. The other places apparently were granted to the priory at different times, by the Grendons, and were more than once confirmed by the mesne lords (Galfrid de Salicosa-Mara, Hubert fitz Ralph, &c.) The site of Chacemoor is quite uncertain. Little Hay, as a wood, was confirmed to Serlo de Grendon by his brother-in-law, with the royal license to convert it into a park.² Serlo de Grendon died before the foundation of the Abbey. His family, as given in the *Chronicle*, consisted of five sons, Bertram, who became a canon in the Abbey; William, to whose perseverance and generosity much of its success was due; Fulcher, Jordan, and Serlo, who afterwards confirmed his father's grants; and three daughters.

The chief interest, of course, gathers round William, who is described both in the *Chronicle* and the *Pipe Rolls* as a 'cleric.' This does not necessarily imply that he was in holy orders, as the word (an abbreviation of clergyman) once only meant. At this period anyone who could read and write was a cleric or clerk (Henry V. was *Beauclerc* on account of his learning); and as the clergy and the lawyers were the only classes who could read and write, the name was customarily applied to them. This Grendon was educated at Paris, and probably was a lawyer.³ He was the Abbey advocate; and as such, his duty would be to defend its interests in the secular courts and, if necessary, in the field. The advocate of an abbey was usually some neighbouring lord, who in return for his protection, received many lucrative privileges, and very frequently considerable estates by way of fief from his ecclesiastical clients. Besides the Ockbrook lands he held of his uncle William, the half manor of Egginton, and ultimately much or all

1. At a later date, 27 Hen. III. (*Testa de Neville*) this Ockbrook property was held by the Abbot of Dale as one fee of the Honour of Everingham (the Everinghams were the successors of Rob. de Cauz); and later still, 4 Ed. I. (*Hundred Rolls*), the Abbot was said to hold *half the vil of Ockbrook*.

2. This adjoined the park of Thomas Bardolf—hence it must have been the southern portion of the Cauz fee of Ockbrook.

3. In the *Pipe Roll* for 1201 he, in common with others, had the oversight of repairs at Harastan (Horsley) Castle; and he is described as 'cleric.'

the other half, for his widow, Ermintrude, gave the manor to her daughter Margaret on her marriage to Robert Walkelin, a gentleman of Radbourn and Mugginton. This property was afterwards divided between the two daughters and heirs of the latter, who were married to John Chandos and William Stafford, from the former of whom have sprung the present Chandos-Poles of Radbourn.¹

After enumerating Serlo's sons, the *Chronicle* becomes vague and almost illegible, and at variance with the transcript. A Robert is mentioned, who is made in the latter to be a son of Serlo by a second wife, "Matilda, Lady of . . . and Selston;"² but in the former he is the husband of this lady. The transcript is obviously wrong; and it is a pity his relationship to Serlo is not given, for what we know of his family proves De Muskham's words, "The Grendons were at that time most famous in the land, and men of great power," as no exaggeration. Robert is frequently surnamed 'De Leveland'—his chief seat being at the village of that name in Kent. He bestowed all he held at Breaston (near Long Eaton) upon Dale. His eldest son and heir, Andrew, was living in 1256 when the younger son, Ralph, who in the *Chronicle* is spoken of as "Lord of Boyleston and Leveland," died. This Ralph obtained the Boyleston (near Ashbourne) estates through marriage, and they with those of Leveland, passed successively to his three sons, Robert,³ Ralph,⁴ and Stephen,⁵ and finally to the daughter and heiress of the latter, Joan, 1286.⁶ We glean from various records, that this branch of the family held by inheritance the manor of Westminster and the custody of the Fleet Prison, the writer having found several references to the first Robert commencing with 1204, and to his grandson Ralph in 1279.⁷

Foremost amongst the other benefactors to Dale was HUGH FITZ RALPH—a name intimately associated with Ilkeston in the 13th century. At an early date, the Domesday Gilbert de Gant, the Con-

1. For full particulars of William de Grendon's connection with Eggington, and his descendants, see *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. III., 256; and IV., 184.

2. Selston, a small and prettily situated Notts. village, near Alfreton. The church has some good Norman work, and a large 17th-century monument to Sir William Willoughby, of South Muskham. The above lady was probably a Wandesley.

3. Born 1241; living in 1256 when the father died.

4. Died 1279.

5. Born 1249; died 1286.

6. Nine years old when her father died. These particulars are from *Inquests post mort.*

7. *Inquest post mort.*, 1279. *Charter Roll*, 1204. *Rot. de Finibus*, 1213.

queror's nephew, granted his Derbyshire fees—Ilkeston, Little Hallam, Stanton and Shipley, to his seneschal, Robert de Muschamp,¹ whose family name was derived from the two Muskhams, near Newark-on-Trent, where they held much land. Hugh, the son of this Robert, was a great benefactor to Rufford Abbey²; and his grandson Robert, was sometime custodian of the King's Castle of Harestan.³ The latter died in or before 1214, and his possessions passed to his daughter and heiress, Isabella, and her husband Ralph de Gresley, whose Nottinghamshire estates lay around Greasley, of which he was lord of the manor. Their daughter, Agnes, brought the united wealth to her husband, the fortunate Hugh fitz Ralph, upon the death of her father in 1229. Hugh's name is frequently met with in the *Pipe Rolls* and kindred documents, between 1217 and 1286, but little is known of his origin. He was probably the eldest son of Ralph de Wandesley, a landowner at Selston and Wandesley in its neighbourhood.⁴ In early life he joined the barons against King John. In 1234 he acted with Robert le Vavasour his tenant of Shipley and probably relative, as keeper for the sheriff, and for several years subsequently these gentlemen were joint sheriffs.⁵ In 1251 he obtained from the King a grant of free warren for his demesne lands of Ilkeston, Greasley and Muskham, and a market every Thursday and an annual fair for his Ilkeston manor.⁶ His gifts to Dale consisted of lands, rents, services of tenants, &c., at Selston,⁷ Paynesthorpe (Bagthorpe, near Selston?), Wandesley, and Little Hallam. He was also a benefactor to Rufford and Lenton Abbeys. Through his grand-daughter and heiress Eustacia's⁸ marriage with Nicholas de Cantelupe, a large portion of his estates passed upon his death in 1264, to that celebrated family, some of whose monuments are in Ilkeston

1. So the *Beauvale Chartulary*, but the pedigree there given is erroneous in several points.

2. Thoroton.

3. *Pipe Roll*, 6 John.

4. So Pym Yeatman—*Feudal History*, Vol. I., p. 335-7.

5. *Pipe Rolls*, 20 and 23, Hen. III.

6. *Charter Rolls*, 36, Hen. III.

7. About four miles from Alfreton.

8. The Beauvale pedigree blunders dreadfully, making Ralph de Gresley the husband of Agnes instead of father, and Hugh fitz Ralph and Eustachia his son and daughter. Dugdale (*Baronage*) and Dr. Cox (*Churches*, Vol. IV., page 257) both fall into the Beauvale pit. The *Pipe Roll* of 12 Hen. III., expressly states that Hugh's wife was Agnes, the daughter and heiress of Ralph de Gresley; and the *Estreats of Grants*, 45 Hen. III., that Eustacia was the daughter and heiress of Hugh fitz Ralph. The latter seems, however, to have been the granddaughter of Hugh fitz Ralph,—so the following brief pedigree culled from the *Plea Rolls* by General Wrottesley (*Antiquary*, Jan., 1890):—

Church.¹ Their grandson (Nicholas de Cantelupe) had a royal license to convert his house at Greasley into a castle, the ruins of which are well worth the antiquary's attention: he was also founder of the neighbouring Priory of Beauvale, of which also there are remains existing. A member of the family was Bishop of Worcester, and another, the saintly Bishop, St. Thomas of Hereford. Ilkeston at length passed to the Zouches, and afterwards by purchase to the ancestors of the Duke of Rutland, the present lord of the manor.¹

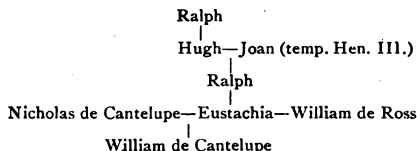
Another great benefactor to Dale was another ROBERT DE MUSCHAMP, a contemporary of Hugh fitz Raiph, and relative (but neither son nor heir) of his namesake, the father-in-law of the latter. The Muschamps were a wide-spread family: from as early as Henry I. a branch was settled in the north², descendants of which still reside in Northumberland. Then, as already noticed, there was an Ilkeston branch. As this Robert's gifts lay in the vicinity of Muskham—consisting of half the proceeds of a mill, half the Trent fishery, lands and services of villans at Muskham, Holme and Bathley, and an island in the Trent—we may conclude that he belonged to the Muskham, which was, perhaps, the senior branch.³ In our district he was Hugh fitz Ralph's tenant of Stanton.⁴ The writer suspects that the author of the Dale

1. For particulars of the Cantelupe connection with Ilkeston, see Trueman's *History of Ilkeston*.

2. See Dugdale's *Baronage*.

3. The Muschamps had long held land in this district under the Archbishops of York, the Everinghams, and others. The two Muskham are not very interesting villages, but Holme Church is well worth a visit from the ecclesiologist.

4. *Testa de Neville*, 27 Hen. III. Robert and Galfrid de Salicosa Mara also held a little land here.



His father, Ralph, was probably, as already stated, Ralph de Wandesley. Joan, according to the Dale Chartulary, was his second wife: his first wife, Agnes, apparently left no children. Perhaps this explains a puzzling partition in the Muschampe-Gresley estates; and as it particularly bears upon the early history of Ilkeston, the writer will be pardoned for introducing it *in extenso*.

At various dates between 1236 and 1302, we find these possessions divided between Hugh fitz Ralph and his descendants the Ilkeston Cantelupes, and William de Ross (father and son), each side holding apparently upon an equal footing. For instance, three fees (Greasley and Claindon—*Thoroton*) in the Honour of Peverel, that had passed from the Gresleys to Hugh fitz Ralph, were divided between him and William de Ross in and subsequent to 1236—Hugh retaining only one of these fees: *Pipe*

Chronicle was a son of this gentleman. At the period we are dealing with, a Muschamp was Archdeacon of Derby and subsequently Bishop of Lincoln, and another was Bishop of Lichfield.

Besides the above, there were other benefactors in Henry III.'s Confirmation Charter, but as their gifts were small or their families possessed but little local interest, we need only mention them. Several TUKES, a wide-spread family, whose Derbyshire possessions chiefly lay in the direction of Hilton, Findern, and Mickleover, are mentioned. Philip and Robert Tuke gave lands at Sandiacre and Hilton respectively, and Jordan, the manor of the latter place, less three acres. RICHARD DE STAPLEFORD—whose ancestors, as the name implies, had long resided at Stapleford—benefited Dale to the tune of three bovates at Sandiacre. ROBERT DE LEXINGTON—a justice itinerant for the counties of Northampton, Rutland, Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, York, &c., from 1229 to 1241, and previously governor of Peak and Bolsover Castles—bestowed right of common pasture and other privileges at Ashover. One of his brothers was chief justice of the forests north of the Trent; and another was Bishop of Lincoln. NICHOLAS DE CHEVERCOURT, for the good of his wife's soul, &c., gave all he possessed in Little Hallam to the Abbey. This property, which was then held of Hugh fitz Ralph,¹ was a marriage portion of her mother, who was a Muschamp. WILLIAM DE SAUMARA (Salicosi-Mara?), WILLIAM DE ALDWERKE, and WILLIAM DE BURGUYLM gave lands in the vicinity of Kniveton and Brassington² (between Wirksworth and Ashbourne): part of these was the beautifully situated Griff Grange, near the end of the Via Gellia Valley. WILLIAM DE BATHLEY bestowed all his Muskham, Holme,

1. *Testa de Neville*, 27 Hen. III.

2. The Abbot of Dale held 80 acres in the fee of Brassington and 10 acres at Hopton. *Hundred Rolls*.

Rolls, 4 John, 5 and 16, Hen. III.; *Testa de Neville*, 1236 and 1240. Ilkeston, Shipley, Stanton and Breaston shared a similar fate from before 1237 to a later date than 1302,—the Ross's holding apparently the larger share: *Testa de Neville*, 27 Hen. 3; *Kirby's Quest*; *Scutage* of 20, Edward I. In 1322 this gentlemen, described as of Ingmanthorpe, made a grant of lands at South Muskham and Carlton—*Thoroton*.

William de Ross was the second husband of Eustacia, and by her he had a son, William (so the above pedigree, the *Beaufort Chantry*, and *Thoroton*, who states that in 1278-9 he and Ralph de Wandesley went to law over Selston Church and that he recovered it as his wife Eustacia's right). But the curious point is that the above partition was a fact in her *first husband's* time, and still earlier, *during the life-time* of her grandfather. It would seem that William de Ross was a sufficiently near relative to Agnes, this lady's step-mother, to enable him to successfully pose as a co-heir to her estates, her husband Hugh being the other heir. However it was, these properties became united again, and owned by Nicholas de Cantelupe, the grandson of Eustacia, before 1347—*Book of Aids*, 20 Ed. III.

It would be interesting to know whether the Matilda whom Robert de Grendon married, was a Wandesley.

and Bathley lands—in 1242 he was a fellow tenant of Hugh-fitz Ralph in South Muskham and Coliston, holding them of the Honour of Tickhill. Land at Croxton (in North Leicestershire?) and Mickleborough (near Rudington) was handed over by RICHARD DE CROXTON; some houses and acres at Derby by ROBERT WURM, and a few bovates at Stanton by Galfrid and ROBERT DE SALICOSA-MARA.

The grants subsequent to Henry III.'s Confirmation Charter were not very large; several of the more interesting are worthy of a little notice. Closely following the date of this Charter, some gifts of lands and rents in the vicinity of Trowel and Cossal were made by members of the TROWEL family. This family, from an early date, were connected with the village of this name; they were also landowners at Brinsley,¹ Bevercote,² and Leek (Nottinghamshire), and Stanford-on-Soar (Leicestershire). Their superior lords, at all events at Trowel and Stanford, were an important Lincolnshire Family, the Kymes, an early member of whom (Simon de Kyme) founded the Gilbertine Priory of Bolington (Lincolnshire), and was a benefactor to Kirkstead (Lincolnshire). He married the daughter of Robert de Muschamp, whose acquisition of Ilkeston we have just noticed. His son, Philip, founded Kyme Priory; and his grandson took part in the barons' opposition to King John, and was also a benefactor to Lenton Priory (Nottingham). Part of the donation of Richard Trowel to Dale was a rent at Trowel³ that he received from William de Stauley. The Stanleys seem to have been closely related to the Trowels, and there is no doubt that they were identical with the Childs, mentioned in the *Dale Chronicle* and the *Pipe Rolls*⁴ as holding Stanley near Dale. Nicholas, brother to William Child, of Trowel, held (according to the *Chronicle*) "Trowel, Boculscote (Bramcote?), Lamcotte, and Lindsay, of the Lord of Kyme," and other places are mentioned—"Honwys, Leston (Glover makes this Leek), and Stanford,"—some of these being places where the Trowels also held lands.⁵ The early history of these families and places is very intricate, and if it could be unravelled an interesting page would be added to the feudal history of the district. Glover made

1. Galf de Trowel held half carucate of land in Brinsley by the curious render of one load horse worth 5s. and a sack, whenever the King went into Wales. *Testa de Neville*, 14 John.

2. *Pipe Roll*, 5 John.

3. *Thoroton*.

4. *Pipe Roll*, 25 Hen. II.

5. If the names *Trowel* and *Stanley* are merely local variations of the same family, the above Nicholas may be the Nicholas Trowel of the *Pipe Rolls*, 12 and 13, Hen. II.

these Stanleys to be the progenitors of the present Earls of Derby, but it is little else than a guess.¹ A rental of William de Trowel's gift to Dale (which included part of the patronage of Trowel Church), was to be devoted to buying wine for the Eucharist for ever.²

Before the close of Henry III.'s reign, the Abbot of Dale possessed fifteen bovates of land and a wood in the serjenty of SANDIACRE. This seems to have consisted of, or at least included, certain grants of land in Kirk Hallam, by Ralph de Hallum, Robert de Strelly, and Walter de Morley,³ all of which were confirmed by John de Sandiacre as their chief lord. The Sandiacres had long been settled in the district, their name being derived from the neighbouring village, their chief seat. The father of the above John himself had made over certain lands and tenements, and the patronage of the church at Kirk Hallam, the latter of which was soon expanded to include the great tithes. The chapel of St. Margaret in the Abbey of Dale was maintained out of these tithes—perhaps, as Dr. Cox suggests, one of the canons received them, and in return served this chapel.⁴ The Sandiacre lordships passed by marriage to the powerful family of Grey (the Sandiacre branch).

The STRELLYS were an east Nottinghamshire family—their old home being the village of that name, where they held much land. Besides the grant—a meadow—at Kirk Hallam, Robert de Strelly also made over some land at Trowel. He was born late in King John's reign; and by a lucky marriage with the, or an, heiress of the Vavasours of Shipleys (near Heanor), and Bilborough (Notts.), he came into possession of these manors, and the land at Kirk Hallam which he gave to Dale. Shipley was held by the Strellys for more than 300 years, when it was sold to pay off the owner's debts. According to Thoroton, the last male representative was a Nottingham mechanic, who, though working at the bench was of gentlemanly bearing. Another branch of the family was as early as John's reign settled at Haselbadge in the Peak, and the picturesque old water-mill of Brough⁶ was also theirs.

1. For an interesting disquisition on this family, see *Feudal History*, pages 384-5, Vol. I.; also D. A. & N. H. Soc.'s *Journal*, Vol. VIII., page 137.

2. *Thoroton*.

3. *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. IV., page 211.

4. *Ib.* page 212.

5. According to the Beauvale *Chartulary* he was enfeoffed of this manor by Robert, the third Ilkeston Muschamp.

6. Hazlebadge, now a farm-house, is a good specimen of 15th century domestic architecture: Brough is partly on the site of a Roman station (Navio?).

In 1331, MATTHEW DE CHADDESSEN and others gave to Dale land and messuages in Chaddesden, Stanley, Ockbrook, and Alvaston. This family were of considerable local importance. At a little later date, HENRY DE CHADDESSEN, a canon of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Leicester, founded a chantry in Chaddesden Church, to be served by a warden and three priests, who were to sing mass for the King, himself, and his ancestors and executors (his cousins, Nicholas and Geoffrey) for ever. The presentation was placed in the hands of the Abbots of Darley and Dale, an arrangement faithfully carried out.¹

1. *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. III., page 304.





CHAPTER VI.

A Peep at Dale Abbey Four Hundred Years Ago.

[1490—1500.]

TO him who is ignorant of anatomy, the fossil bones of a museum shelf are simply bones and nothing more ; but to the anatomist bone joins to bone and they become invested with flesh and life, and no longer does he survey dry bones, but the living and moving animals of which they once formed part. So also the ruins of an Abbey : and in behalf of the readers whose knowledge of a Mediæval religious house and its inmates is small, a sketch will now be given of Dale in its palmy days. When it is considered how fragmentary are its vestiges and few the documentary notices, such a task may, for a moment, seem insuperable ; but it is well known that a close likeness subsisted amongst the abbeys and priories of the Middle Ages, especially of the same order,—this, when brought to bear upon the above, will enable us to rebuild our Abbey, and people it afresh. The following imaginary visit will give a tolerably accurate idea of Dale in the last decade of the 15th century.

* * * * *

‘We need not go further a-field for proof. Is it not currently whispered, that things are not what they should be at this Abbey to which we are about to pay a passing visit ? ’

1. An allusion to the lack of discipline during the close of John Stanley's rule—he resigned in 1491.

‘Monks have many enemies, my friend! These rumours about Dale may not be true. But even if they were it would not prove that monasticism was worn out.’

‘Tell me, Hugh—Think you the Holy Pontiff¹ would issue his recent bull enjoining our religious orders to reform themselves, if they needed no reformation?’

This query brought the animated conversation to an abrupt close, and the companions, two gentlemen *en route* from Ockbrook to the Abbey of Dale, pursued their way amid the well-kept monastic meadows and sleek cattle—for all between the grange of Little Hay and West Hallam three miles ahead, belonged to Dale—in silence and thought; but their thoughts were as diverse as the bent of their minds. Hugh’s religious and political views were decidedly reactionary, and he affected to be suspicious of everything modern; but now, his ideal Commonwealth, in which the prayers of the monks were the very salt of society, had received a blow, for if the salt had lost its savour, what then? His friend Henry was a lawyer, well read in both classic and current literature, and of a decided philosophical turn of mind. He was now, for a thousandth time, pondering over the signs of the times; the revival of learning, the progress of the press, the discovery of new lands beyond the Western Ocean—Did not these things point to the dawn of a new world? But, somehow—he could not hide it from himself—monks and their saintly lore seemed out of place there!

Soon they were roused by the cheery ringing voice of the Abbey Brewer, giving orders at the Malt-house door about some malt. As he was about to return to the House, he volunteered to escort the companions, declaring on the way that their visit would be incomplete without a peep into his well-appointed brewery, with its mashing vat and malt ark: no ale was to be found in all the country round equal to what he brewed for the Refectory and Guest-hall tables! In a few minutes the party reached the summit. There they paused: below was Dale in all its glory, a miniature walled town with a noble Gate-house on the west. Without, were well-stocked fish ponds and gardens, strips of plough-land—some golden with grain, others lying fallow, and meadows dotted with cattle. Within, edifices of all sizes from the lowly cot of the labourer to the princely lodge of the Lord Abbot; the

1. Innocent VIII. He directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to warn the heads of all convents in his province to reform their establishments, and gave him authority to resort to more decided measures if his admonitions were neglected. 1490.

offices of the Base Court ;¹ and, chief of all, the magnificent range of the claustral buildings, with minster-church and tower soaring high above all else, its bells now announcing Sext, for seven times a-day its walls resound with praise to God and prayers for men. In the foreground were the new timbered gables of the Infirmary,² where lay, so the Brewer observed, some of the conventuals down with sickness, a circumstance that gave the Prior much concern, as the Abbot was away on a visit to a distant manor.

Hugh lingered at the tile-kiln³ near the Gate-house : one man was impressing from a wooden die a pattern on quarrels of half-dried clay ; others were filling in the impressions at a later stage with white clay preparatory to the squares being fired and glazed. Meanwhile, his friend had explained to the Porter the object of their visit and whence they hailed. This being satisfactory, his servant conducted the visitors to the Guest-hall, at the door of which the Hospitaller bid them right welcome in the name of the convent. This genial official, with the permission of their Master (Sext being now over), detailed one of the novices, a young man of gentle birth, to show them the Monastery ; 'But, Sirs,' he added, 'be not long, for the Guest-hall tables will shortly be prepared for dinner !'

The Novice led them to the Cloister or Paradise, a quadrangular court about 90 feet square, surrounded by a covered ambulatory or walk, then recently rebuilt. It was the nucleus of the monastery ; for around it were ranged the conventual offices,—the nave of the Church forming the north side, the South Transept, Sacristy, Chapter-room, and Slype, with the Dormitory above the latter three, making up the east side, while the Refectory and its undercroft, Guest-hall,⁴ kitchen, Prior's lodging and sundry other chambers, made up the remaining sides. These offices opened into the ambulatory, which thus served as a means of communication from one office to another. But it fulfilled a higher purpose ; in its quiet seclusion from the outer world, the convent assembled at certain hours every day for study and meditation. It was about 11 feet wide ; its roof was of timber ; the walls overlooking the central grassy garth were perforated with beautiful square-headed traceried

1. Foundations exist to the south of the Abbey site ; probably these relate to the Base Court.

2. Assumed to be the present parish church.

3. The tile-kiln was discovered about 30 years ago, but was unfortunately destroyed, and the tiles found inside broken up to repair the roads.

4. There is no positive proof that this Hall formed part of the claustral pile, but its position in the *Inventory* (see next chapter) implies this.

windows, so closely placed together as to make that side of the ambulatory seem little less than a mosaic of coloured glass, while on the opposite side were the doors of the several offices. The rich painted glass of the windows, naturally attracted the visitors' attention. One window at which they lingered was divided into small compartments illustrating the history of St. Robert of Knaresborough and the Deer. 'And this'—exclaimed Hugh, in a low voice, pointing to another, 'How ingeniously has the artist represented the ascension of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins! See, angels raise her fellow-martyrs to heaven in a sheet!' A suspicion of mischief lurked in Henry's face as he counted only eleven, and insinuated that '*cum XI. M. Virginum ascendens in caelum*' might just as easily be read, 'eleven martyr virgins' as 'eleven thousand virgins.' But by this time the Novice was recounting the incidents of the Invention of the Cross, depicted on another window.

Before entering the Chapter-room the guide pointed out the various doors near it, beginning with that of the Slype, a passage to the grave-yard, used also as a parlour (*i.e.* place where necessary conversation was allowed), near the S.E. corner. Next to this, was the magnificent double portal of the Chapter-room with jambs of engaged shafts and intervening bands of dog-tooth ornament, and crowned with an arch of many rims. A little further was a small pointed doorway into the Sacristy², where were kept the vestments and ornaments of the church; and near the northern end of this east alley was a larger one opening into the south transept, under the steps by which the inmates entered the Church from the Dormitory for the night services. Save for a slowly pacing canon—perhaps the Sacristan, he had just emerged from the Sacristy—the Cloister was deserted, the conventuals being assembled in the Refectory. His white cassock, rochet and cap, intercepting in changeful pattern the rays that converted the tiles of the pavement into a glory of colour, added not a little to a scene that impressed our visitors greatly.

The courteous Novice next admitted them to the Chapter-room, a well proportioned chamber worthy of its noble entrance. Two slender clustered pillars supported the vaulted roof. Two painted windows diffused a softened light from the far, or eastern, end. Round the sides upon a stone basement were the canons' seats, the Abbot's, between those of the Prior and Sub-prior, being at the end below the windows. On the floor were several monuments, one the beautiful effigy of a former

1. Some of these windows and painted glass are in the north aisle of Morley.
2. Indicated in Buck's view of 1727.

Prior of the house. Here, daily after Prime, the convent assembled to hear a portion of the Rule read from the desk and commented upon by the Abbot, or in his absence, by the Prior; to pray a solemn *requiescant in pace* for the souls of members, or such as had been received to fraternity, whose death anniversaries were recorded in the Obituary for the day; to transact business, confess faults, and punish delinquencies.

The Common-room, where the canons retired after refecton to warm themselves in cold weather, or to take their allowance of wine or other indulgencies in diet granted them, lay on the other side of the Slype and formed the south-east angle of the Cloister. A peep through its half-open door disclosed windows on the left side; there was a sink in the sill of the nearest, and just beyond it, a capacious fire-place—the only one allowed the conventuals. ‘There must be,’ Henry thought, ‘a geniality in the glow of its fire in winter, which, if I were a canon, would, I am afraid, make me long for the flesh-pots of the Egypt I renounced!’

The visitors were, of course, debarred from the Refectory, the canons being at dinner; but they distinctly caught the monotonous voice of the novice reading some edifying book from the pulpit. The canons’ meal was saddened by a circumstance that the guide here related. A young canon, John Bebe¹ by name, had been guilty of a grave misdemeanour, and was now undergoing a forty-days’ *Gravioris Culpæ* as penance. This punishment consisted of sitting by himself on the Refectory floor; feeding on coarse bread and water; no one speaking to him, and himself excluded from communion and the kiss of peace. This accomplished, he was to be sent to Hales Owen Abbey for seven years.

The Cellars, Kitchen, and Buttery, the Novice decided to omit, so that the companions should have more time for the Church. With excellent judgment, he would have them enter the Church by the west doors, in order that the full sweep and perspective of the noble interior might be seen at the first glance. This was kind of him, for these doors were ordinarily used for processions only. As he anticipated, the cathedral-like character and size of the edifice; the goodly array of painted glass mantling the cleanly white-washed² walls with its tender tints; the lofty timber roof, broken only by the massy tower arches; the great east window with its noble head

1. Afterwards Abbot.

2. Abundant traces of white-wash were found on the stones during the excavations, and much still remains. Some of the hollows of the mouldings were coloured chocolate.

of tracery showing high above the elaborate rood-screen ; the plaintive music of the organ¹, with angelic voices of boys practising an introit ; the sweet redolence of incense—all combined to entrance the visitors for a moment. As soon, however, as their thoughts resumed their usual groove, they began to inspect the details.

The Nave was 30 feet wide, and nearly 100 feet long. An arcade of three obtusely-pointed arches, supported on clustered pillars of bold and effective design, separated it from its north and only aisle. The upper-walls were pierced with six square-headed² windows, three on each side, and immediately above, was the low-pitched roof. These windows and roof were of more recent construction than the lower parts of the nave, being the work of Abbot John Spondon, half a century previously. The elegant font was of similar date ; one of the eight sides of its bowl had the Crucifix, and the opposite side, St. Mary and the Holy Infant, both exquisitely carved,—the remaining sides having each a shield and rose. The cover was a piece of new oak-work ; its under surface presented the emblems of the Passion, and it was finished above in an octagonal pyramid decorated with emblems of the evangelists and other devices, all in relief.³ The floor was of encaustic tiles ; and what was uncommon, some of them were disposed in bands for the arrangement of processions, in place of the more usual stones. 'What a pity,' whispered the guide, 'that to-day is not a festival ; or the annual return of the Lord Abbot from the great Chapter of Premontre, when the convent two and two, would issue forth through the western doors with waving banners and chanted psalm, to welcome him, the great bell tolling and the church gaily decked with costly palls and baldekins !'

Passing under the arches and vaulted ceiling of the tower, the party entered the North Transept to take a peep through the timber screen that filled the arch opening into the Lady Chapel on the east side, just beyond the parclose of Our Lady of Pity, with its small altar, and alabaster reredos and image. This chapel was parallel to the Choir, but did not actually join it. Its altar was ascended by four steps and was adorned by an alabaster reredos. The vaulted roof was rebuilt in Abbot Spondon's time, to which period the elegant stalls apparently also belonged.

Across the entrance of the Choir was a new rood-screen and loft, surmounted as usual with a crucifix and the images of SS. Mary and John.

1. There were 'a pair of organs' at the Suppression.

2. Shown on Buck's view.

3. The font is now in the Parish Church, and the cover is at Radbourn.

The basement panels¹ displayed the then fashionable linen-fold pattern with Tudor foliage. The visitors lingered below its arch to survey the Choir, which was a noble specimen of architecture, closely following the nave in dimensions. On its south side was an arcade of four richly moulded arches with clustered pillars and sculptured capitals. These arches were filled in with timber screen-work², through which glimpses of the chapel (a sort of aisle to the Choir) and altar of St. Margaret were obtained. The opposite or north wall was pierced with pointed windows. From above, the light streamed through ten pairs of square-headed windows, five on each side, corresponding to the five bays of the Choir. These windows were necessarily placed close together, hence the new clearstory seemed to be all glass and roof.³ But the glory, not only of the Choir, but the whole Church, was the noble old east window, containing over 300 square feet of glazing. It was of five lights, and its pointed head was filled with geometrical tracery, consisting of a large central rose or traceried circle, and a smaller one on each side at a lower level. The altar was unusually large, and, with its painted wooden reredos⁴ or table, stood a few feet in part of the east wall. Like the clearstory and rood-screen, the stalls were also new, displaying on their ends the linen-fold pattern and foliage as the screen panels. Some of their finials were very curious: one, at which the visitors lingered was an allegory in oak,—it represented a group of heads—a youth's, an old man's, and a skull with horribly wide-open mouth, all in monks' cowls⁵. Before leaving the Choir, the Novice pointed out the seats of Abbot, Prior, Precentor, and Succentor.

The clock⁶ warned the party that they had not many minutes to spare, so they hastily passed into the South Transept. This transept had a small door in its south wall into the Sacristy, and, as already noticed, others on its western side to the Cloister and Dormitory. Its eastern wall was perforated with two arches, the left into St. Margaret's chapel, and the right into that of St. Werburgh. Attached to the intervening pier was the Holy Rood altar—the altar of the laity. The former chapel had, as already remarked, an arcade of four arches on its left side between it and the choir; and another arcade of three arches

1. Now in front of the Hall pew at Radbourn.

2. See *Inventory*.

3. Built by the Abbot of the time.

4. See *Inventory*.

5. Now at Radbourn Church.

6. See *Inventory*.

separated it from the latter chapel on the opposite side, which Hugh remarked was of more recent date. The east window of St. Margaret's chapel was extremely beautiful, not unlike the great Choir window in construction, but its head contained vesicas instead of circles.¹ To the left of its altar, a glimpse was caught of a founder's tomb, with elegant canopy of carved stone above.

With much reluctance the visitors returned to the Cloister by the transept door. On the way to the Guest-hall, Henry would have Hugh, who was a skilful member of a cathedral guild of masons, say something of these buildings and their age; to which he responded,—

‘Essentially they are of the 13th century; I have failed to observe anything older.’ To the Novice—‘Tell me, my young friend, when was this monastery founded?’

‘It is currently said to be 1204.’

‘Then we may conclude that these 13th-century portions, such as the lower walls and arcades of Nave and Choir, the Chapter- and Common-rooms, and the Lady and St. Margaret's chapels, are relics of the original Abbey at that time erected. Indeed, little of the original masonry has been disturbed; three of the tower piers were re-built last century, and, of course, the present roof of the Lady Chapel and the Cloister ambulatory, replaced older structures. The later works are essentially *additions*.’

‘As the new clearstory of the Choir, and Abbot Spondon's work in the Nave,’ observed the Novice, much interested.

‘Yes; these 13th-century builders loved high pitched roofs, and did not often have clearstories: indeed, I distinctly noted the old level, both in Choir and Nave, from which the original roofs arose. St. Werburgh's Chapel, like the newer tower-piers, is the work of last century.’

‘Tell us, Hugh,’ said Henry, ‘what you think of the merits of what we have seen.’

‘The Choir, St. Margaret's Chapel, and Chapter-room pleased me most. They are excellent specimens of 13th-century art, when the architecture, sprightly, soaring, pointed, was a protest against the heavy horizontality that had enslaved art for centuries. Now all is flat again, to wit, your flattened roofs, gables, and windows. And these Dale clearstories—beautiful as their effect is—destroy in some degree the unity of the original design.’

1. So the fragments of its tracery.

Arriving at the Guest-hall door, they learned that owing to some delay, there was still a quarter of an hour to dinner-time, this allowed of a stroll round the Base Court. Their attention, however, was detracted from the workshops, storehouses, breweries and bakeries of this court, by an interesting conversation Henry struck up with the Novice, who in response to his query, stated that he liked the life well, and would not willingly change it for another. 'At first,' he went on to say, 'I found Mattins the most irksome of my daily duties, but now I turn out the moment the Dormitory bell sounds; Sancta Maria! to rise at midnight on a festival of twelve lessons in winter is easier said than done!' He was not brought up in the house, as the education of youth was forbidden by the Premonstratensian rule; still a good education was a *sine qua non* for the noviciate. He was now eighteen, and looked forward to early profession. When asked if he would not like to be Abbot or Prior, he feared that he had not ability for so high offices; but he hoped some day to become a choir-religious, perhaps Precentor or Sacristan, his father having introduced him to that end. This, Hugh afterwards confessed, grieved him much: it could not be denied that wealthy parents too often ensured their sons obtaining these dignified degrees, but it was unfair to those who had merit but not wealth. Henry delicately referred to the late detrimental rumours about the inmates. 'If evil report,' said the Novice, 'spreads quickly, it dies slowly! These rumours belong to the time of Abbot Stanley, who resigned a few years ago. This venerable father is really a very good man, and he is now honourably lodged at the expense of the convent;' but during the latter years of his rule, his age made him weak and easy going, and the result was misrule and laxness. The present Abbot, however, has restored discipline, freed us from debt, and has the good word of our Visitor.'

The Guest-hall bell now rang; so with a hasty good-bye to the Novice, the companions returned to the Hall just as the Cellarer entered the Abbey precincts from a visit to one of the Granges. A portly form was his; his business-like eye rested on the Refectory and Dormitory which were under his special care, and the lay-brethren present paid him profound reverence, for his office was high. Sweet little bells jingled from his bridle, and no horses were better groomed, and no servants more neatly attired than his!

The Hospitaller was an excellent host. In spite of sickness in the house, a large and varied company were assembled in the Hall, who,

1. For particulars, see next chapter.

grace sung, and themselves seated according to their rank, soon made short work with the roast mutton and pork, the haunches of venison, the mountains of fish and fowl, the pasty meat and loaves of wastel and simnel bread,—all washed down with copious draughts of ale and beer. A company of minstrels volunteered a glee, and excellent it was pronounced. A tumbler caused such merriment with his antics, that all, from the knight and his lady at the upper table to the beggar at the lower, were convulsed with laughter. ‘What a contrast,’ thought Henry, ‘between all this jollity and the meagre repast and monotonous reading of the Refectory!’

After dinner, the companions attended the Church for None; but they declined the Hospitaller’s invitation to prolong their visit until the following day. They lingered on their return journey on the hill above the Hermitage to take a last look at Dale, when Hugh ventured to remark that such self-denial and devotion as they had witnessed did not look as though monasticism was worn out.

‘Your premise,’ Henry answered, ‘I admit; the order of the inmates is excellent. Your conclusion, I deny. Time was when learning was confined to the cloister,—*then* the monks fulfilled a useful mission; *now*, learning is widely diffused and cheapened through the invention of printing, and the world could get on just as well without the monks.’

‘Your admission, Henry, is candid! Self-indulgent men are not given to rising at two in the morning, and sometimes earlier, to spend three or four hours singing in a cold church! But look at this Abbey! Are not its roots of influence, wealth, and charity, too deep and widely spread to fail, while England lasts?’

‘Of a nobler and greater temple was it once said, that not one of its stones should be left upon another, and in forty years it was fulfilled.’

‘Henry, thou art a prophet of evil! Time will prove it; so Adieu, Dale. Benedicite!’





CHAPTER VII.

The Abbots and the Suppression.

[1195?—1538.]

IN page 14 it was remarked that the Dale Chartulary contained a list of Abbots. This Abbey is particularly fortunate in having such a list; few others can show a complete sequence of abbots, still fewer, biographical notes and the lengths of their respective rules. The *List* is written in an early 16th century hand by someone who seems to have been a contemporary of the last two Abbots therein mentioned, their names being a later addition of the same hand. The notices of the first and third Abbots are obviously taken from De Muskhams's *Chronicle*. Dates, unfortunately are not given; and the lengths of rule can be shown in some cases to be a trifle incorrect; occasional dates from other sources, however, which relate to some of the Abbots, enable us to build up a reliable chronology.

The date of the foundation of the Abbey as given in the returns of the canons to their Visitor-General in the 15th century, is 1204; but according to the *List* it must have been earlier, 1199 or 1200. The actual date, however, seems to have been still earlier. In response to a *Quo Warranto* (4 Edw. III.) as to whence he claimed free warren, &c., the Abbot of Dale produced a charter of Apr. 1, 7 Richard I., to *Stanley Park*, and one of Henry II., to Welbeck. The latter refers to

the time when Depedale was a dependency of Welbeck Abbey (page 24), and the former, of course, to our Abbey itself. According to this, the *latest date* for the coming of the Welbeck canons was 1187, and for the foundation of the Abbey, 1195. There is no reason to think that there would be any delay in getting such a charter, hence the latter date may be accepted with little hesitation as the year of the foundation.

The Abbey seems to have run an even and useful, though uneventful course, from its foundation to its suppression in 1538; and when the items of the *List* are given, little remains to be said of the interval. The following translation, given in Italics, is from Mr. St. John Hope's, 'The Abbots of Dale,' in the *Journal of the Derbyshire A. and N.H. Society* (Vol. V.)¹ The dates in brackets are conjectural only.

Our successors must remember and commit to perpetual recollection that this is the true and perfect number and order of all the Abbots of this place from the beginning of the foundation, succeeding one after another:—

1st. Father Walter de Senteney, of pious memory, the first Abbot, and a man of the highest religion, ruled 31½ years.
[1199—1131.]

In the Obituary of Beauchief Abbey (Premonstratensian), his death is commemorated on January 3rd, and he is described as formerly a canon of Newhouse.

2nd. Dan William, a man of all prudence, ruled 2½ years, and afterwards was made Abbot of Prémontré, and Chaplain of the Roman Pontiff. [1231—1233.]

He was the second Englishman who held the high office of Abbot of Prémontré, to which he was elected, 6th October, 1233. Immediately afterwards, Gregory IX. made him Visitor of the Order. He does not seem to have had an easy time of it at Prémontré, and at length he resigned, and returned to England to spend the rest of his days at Bayham Abbey, Sussex, where he died.

3rd. Dan John Grauncorth, lovely to God and man, who in his days shone in our Order as Lucifer and Hesperus in the height of heaven, and ruled 19 years and 39 weeks. [1233—1253.]

1. Another is given in *The Hermitages of Depedale*.

2. This, of course, is the date deducted from the *List*; if the *Quo Warranto* date is accepted instead, the rule of this or the second Abbot must have been longer.

This was the Abbot from who De Muskham received the habit. According to him he was an especial associate of the blessed Augustine¹ of Lavendon, a small Premonstratensian Abbey in Bucks. 1235—Henry III.'s Confirmation Charter. 1244—the half rectory of Egginton bestowed upon the Abbot and his twenty-four monks, in order that they might better exercise hospitality, for on account of the great distance from towns, the Abbey was much frequented by wayfarers.

4th. *Dan Hugh de Lincoln ruled 14½ years.* [1253—1267.]

5th. *Dan Simon ruled 5 years and 11 days.* [1267—1271.]

He is commemorated in the Beauchief Obituary on Sept. 27.

6th. *Dan Lawrence ruled 16½ years.* [1271—1287.]

From a letter to him by one, brother Robert de Derby, on behalf of an apostate member of the Order, we learn that he resigned the abbacy: the letter is given full by Mr. Hope. 1281—he and his convent are acknowledged in the *Calendar of Fines* as owning land at Stanton-by-Dale. 1286—he entered into an agreement with the Prior of Dunstable respecting some tithes in the Peak. A few years previously the great tithes of Bradbourne were appropriated to this priory; and as our Abbey possessed lands near Brassington (in the parish of Bradbourne) this agreement probably related to the tithes of these lands, which perhaps had been in dispute.²

7th. *Dan Richard de Normanton, who was a squanderer in his time and very burdensome to his successors, ruled the first time 8 years except 10 days.* [1287—1295.]

1293—he obtained a grant of free warren for the Abbey possessions.

8th. *Dan John de Lincoln ruled 6 years.* [1295—1301.]

9th. *Dan Richard de Normanton the second time ruled 1 year and 38 weeks.* [1301—1303.]

It is curious that after having apparently been compelled to resign for squandering the goods of the monastery, he should have been appointed a second time.

10th. *Dan John Horsley ruled 26 years and 45 weeks and certain days, who worn out with age voluntarily resigned into the hands of the convent.* [1303—1329.]

He died in 1333, and is commemorated in the Beauchief Obituary on Nov. 9th. 1330—it is satisfactory to know that in a pleading of *Quo*

1. He was Abbot of Lavendon in 1236.

2. *Annals of Dunstable.*

Warrant relative to the Abbey rights of free warren, that 'the jury found in favour of the Abbot, and that he had used his privileges well.'

11th. *Dan John Woodhouse ruled 15 weeks.*

For some unexplained reason he resigned his office.

12th. *Dan William Horsley in whose days the stone chamber at Stanley Grange was built and many other very strong edifices, ruled 21 years and 41 weeks. [1332—1351.]*

Mr. Hope gives the full account of the election (in true English fashion, 'by way of compromise',) of this Abbot, from the Register of Prémontre; it is dated Sept. 19th, 1332. Amongst the 'strong edifices' mentioned may be some of the Decorated work of St. Werburgh's chapel.

13th. *Dan Roger de Kyrkton ruled 3 years and 20 weeks.*

14th. *Dan William de Boney, shining forth by the token o honest conversation quite a new founder, re-edified many ruinous tenements, and ruled 42 years and 14 weeks. [1355—1397.]*

1386—The rectory of Ilkeston conferred upon the Abbey.

15th. *Dan Henry Monyrsh, excellent in all honesty of manners, ruled 39 years and 11 weeks. [1397—1436.]*

1423—The Abbots of Dale and Darley by the concession of the Dean of Lincoln, presented to the vacant vicarages of Matlock and Edlaston, the Dean being the patron of each.¹

16th. *Dan John Spondon, of memory to be cherished, ruled laudably the flock committed to him 33 years, and he built the roof of the body of the church, and the roof of the chapel of the Blessed Mary, where the antiphon is sung. And very many good deeds did he, and slept in the Lord. On whose soul may God have mercy. Amen. [1436—1469.]*

The 'body' of the church is evidently the nave, and in accordance with the fashion of the time the new roof would include a clear-story. (See page 48.)

17th. *Dan John Stanley, a venerable father in prudence and knowledge, who caused to be made the cloister of our House, and by his prudence and labour got possession of certain lands and tenements lost of old time, and laudably ruled the flock committed to him 22 years, and afterwards he passed to the Lord. [1469—1491.]*

1. Churches of Derbyshire II. 526 and III. 156. His name is also mentioned in an *Inquest of Knight's fees* of 1431, as in receipt of 10s. rents from Derby.

From the Visitations of the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Visitor-General of the Order, we learn the cloister was 'newly begun' in 1478 and almost finished in 1482. 1473—The great tithes of Heanor appropriated to Dale, the convent to sustain the vicar and provide for the poor of the parish. The later Visitations found that the rules were not properly obeyed, and that the Abbot was 'imbecile' and 'impatient.' He at length resigned.

18th. Dan Richard Nottingham, a pious father adorned with sundry flowers of the virtues, caused to be built the roof of the uppermost choir, and many other edifices and benefices did he to this Monastery; and like a good shepherd, he happily governed the sheep committed to him 19 years, and then his soul having been loosed from his body, he ended his life in peace. [1491—1511.]

He was Circator in 1478, Sub-Prior in 1410, and Vicar of Heanor from 1485 until he was made Abbot. In all the Visitations he is extremely well spoken of. One of his first acts as Abbot was to provide for his predecessor; and the indenture, dated Oct. 28, 1491, (given in full from the Chartulary by Mr. Hope) affords a curious glimpse of the internal life of the Abbey. By it, is 'given, conceded and confirmed to the venerable father, Dan John Stanley' one annual rent of 20 marks from 'all our granges, lands and tenelements' (Stanley Grange, 4 marks; Hilton, 6 marks; and Alvaston Grange, 10 marks) 'to have and to hold for the term of his life.' For his lodging he was to have the upper and lower chambers, known as the Chaddesden Chambers, also the Storehouse and Woodhouse Chambers. He was also to have sufficient wood billets and coal for his fires; candles; loaves of the best paste made in the monastery and wholesome victuals from the kitchen; 8 flagons of the best beer a week when obtainable in the neighbourhood; and one of the canons as chaplain 'for saying with him divine service daily as is seemly.' Also bread, drink, provisions and dishes of flesh and fish sufficient for his two servants (man and youth) whom he was to choose; pasture and hay for his two horses, and stables at the monastery. He was to be honourably treated, and to have the use of 2 silver salt cellars, a silver bowl with cover, 2 mazars bound round with silver gilt, 6 silver spoons; also all the furniture of his chamber called 'Kooster's': clothes, linen and woollen, and other necessities for his and his servants' beds. The ex-Abbot was not to 'give away, alienate or pawn' any of these, but at his death they were to revert to the monastery.

In 1499 or 1500 the Abbey was visited with plague and many of its inmates died from it.

The *List* concludes with this Abbot ; the only other, the last, that Dale possessed, was John Bebe. He was a novice in 1491, and Sub-sacristan and Deacon two years afterwards. A little later, a most unfortunate (as will be seen in the sequel) charge of irregularity was brought against him, and which resulted in the punishment referred to in the previous Chapter (see page 47.) He seems to have shown real sorrow, for his term at Hales-Owen was reduced, and he was again at Dale in 1500, as Precentor.

With John Bebe's abbacy we have reached a point where it is necessary to turn to outside history. Events were now rapidly leading up to Henry VIII.'s great quarrel with the Pope, which led to the separation and ultimate reformation of the English Church. From 1531 to 1535, legislation was anti-Papal, and at length, in the latter year, the great Act of Supremacy was passed, which declared the King to be supreme in the *Ecclesia Anglicana* and all appeals to Rome to be unlawful. The separation was now complete ; instead of the regular clergy being an *imperium in imperio*, with the Pope for its sovereign, they were placed now under the visitation of the Crown.

It was not surprising that this change of masters was resented by the religious orders. There was a clash of interests ; the King could ill brook the opposition of so wealthy a class, still most popular with the masses, and having all the *prestige* of the growth of a thousand years. The sequel is not strange. The game Henry had commenced, he must play on, or perish ; his only safety was in advancing,—and his were never half-measures. The lax morals of the monasteries had long called for a sweeping reformation ; even as far back as 1490, the Pope issued a bull, enjoining the Archbishop of Canterbury to call upon the heads of religious houses to reform themselves and their dependents, and authorizing him to use stronger measures if they neglected the command. The system had evidently outlived its usefulness. The popularity of the mendicant orders in the 14th century was an index of its waning influence ; and the introduction of printing, and the spread of academical education was its death-knell. Here then was a pretext for Henry's interference ; but, mind, there was a good deal of *plunder* at the bottom of it ! He could count upon the support of two classes,—those who honestly desired reformation, and the crafty courtiers and office-holders, whose eyes were fixed upon the broad lands of the monastics.

Towards the close of 1535, the King organised a commission to visit the monasteries, and to report upon the doings therein,—‘subtle

headed fellows,' as an old historian puts it, who were not likely to smooth down any irregularities. The very terror of these gentlemen, caused not a few of the smaller houses to voluntarily resign their charters into the King's hands. The result of this commission was a "Black Book," and a very *black* book too!—if only one-half of its contents were true, the monastics deserved all they received from his hands. Early next year, Parliament, by a little manangement, suppressed all religious houses with incomes under £200 a-year; but 31 of these lesser houses obtained the King's licence to continue a while longer, and amongst these, was our Abbey of Dale. This placed in the King's hands revenues to the extent of £32,000 a year, and goods and plate valued at £100,000. A few years later, in 1539, the greater monasteries were, with less show of reason, suppressed; and these brought to the King wealth almost four-fold that of the lesser ones. And thus, to use the words of a well-known historian, 'the piles of delicate stone work, enriched with the thoughts of the architect and sculptor, which ever since the Conquest had been growing up in beauty over all the land, were levelled, unroofed, or turned into stables or pig-sties. Choice pictures, in whose tinted forms glowed the spirit of Italian art, shrivelled in the flames. Stained windows became splinters of coloured glass. Sweet bells, that had sprinkled the air at prime and sunset with music, were melted down or sold. As schools, hospitals, centres of agricultural progress, lodging-houses for the traveller, these monasteries had been of much service to the country. Their fall accordingly left serious gaps, which it took a considerable time to fill. Much suffering and consequent discontent occurred among the humbler classes, as the result of the violent, though necessary, change.' This discontent, broke out in the North into the formidable 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' shortly after the first Suppression.

It must not be thought that these proceedings were altogether novel and unprecedented. Years before, Wolsey had suppressed a number of small houses, and much earlier a whole order was broken up. The great sin of Henry's proceedings was the use he made with the wealth. Of course, he promised great things, new bishoprics, colleges—one to turn out statesmen! and other useful foundations. A few of these were established; but the great bulk of the proceeds went to the courtiers and others of the aristocracy, to purchase their support and friendship. Perhaps, after all, this was better than to place it in the hands of the Church, yet 'there was one class to whom restitution was due—a large proportion of conventual revenues arose out of parochial tithes, diverted from the incumbent to swell the pomp of some remote abbot (we have already noticed that Dale held those of some neighbouring parishes). These appropriations were in no instance restored to the parochial

clergy, and have passed either into the hands of laymen, or of bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, who were frequently compelled by the Tudor princes to take them in exchange for lands.' (Hallam.)

To return to Dale. The irregularity of the Abbot's early days was raked up for the Black Book, but the life of the Abbey was prolonged to October, 1538, when it was surrendered to the King; this was its death. It finds its burial in an inventory of its effects and of the prices they made when sold. There is something pathetic, and at the same time ludicrous in its end;—'household stuffe, corne, catell, ornaments of the Churche, and such other lyke found within the late Monastery at the tyme of the dyssolution of the same house,' lumped together in one common list,—organ and candlesticks, 'Mary and John,' 'oualde fether beds' and 'coverletts,' pots and 'pannes,' cheeses and 'swyne,' roofs, 'ieron' and paving stones! Truly a nice termination to four centuries of devotions and masses! What matter though, it was so much more pocket money for the King!

The *Inventory*¹ gives some interesting particulars as to the Abbey furniture and goods. In and about the Choir were the following:—A painted table at the high altar, two brass candlesticks, a lamp, seats, crucifix, 'Mary and John' and a 'payre of organs,'—the lot sold for 2cs. Right of the choir, evidently in the chapels of SS. Margaret and Werburgh, were two altars and tables of alabaster, and a 'grate of yren' that protected the 'Founder' (*i.e.* the tomb of the founder)². The 'rode altar in the churche and a rode,' went for 2s. Equally cheap was the furniture of the Lady Chapel—it brought only 5s.! Then the clock, roofs, iron, glass, paving-stones, and grave-stones of the church—only £18 for all!

The Dormitory brought in 7s. 6d. In the Vestry were two tunicles of black satin with a cope to correspond, a suit of white silk with cope spotted with 'blew sterres,' a suit of black silk, eight old copes and eight altar cloths,—all of which went for 40s. The Cloister furniture, roofs, glass, and all, made £6; and those of the Chapter-house, 5s. The proceeds of the Refectory, Hall, and Buttery made 36s. In the Kitchen were a 'brasse pott in a furnes, three brasse pottes, three lyttel pannes, three spyttis, a payr of oberds, a pott chayen, two cressets, one grydyron, a payr tonges, a mortar with a pestell, 40 platers, dysshes and saucers,' which together were sold for 40s. Then there was the Brew-

1. Addit MS. 6698. Given in full in Fox's *History, &c.*, of Morley Church.

2. In chapters vi. and viii. mentions are made of a founder's tomb in St. Margaret's Chapel; it is probable that it was the tomb of Richard de Sandiacre—see chapter v.

house, with its 'leads,' 'masshyng fatte' and 'malt arke'; the Bake-house, with 'mouldyng borde,' three troughs and a 'boultyng arke,' and the Malt-house (now a deserted brick farmhouse near Boya Grange), with cistern of lead and 'hoper for a mill.' In the 'Bisshops,' 'Bonney,' and 'Inner' Chambers, were divers 'fether beds,' 'old coverletts,' 'testers of lynen' and hangings.

The cattle went cheap, even from the standpoint of present prices. Eight oxen made £4; fifteen young bullocks, 4s. each; twenty pigs 13s. 4d. the lot; horses, 20s. At Boya Grange, 'eleven kyne' sheep, cheeses, a pot, and two pans made £9 17s. 4d. At Ockbrook (Little-Hay Grange), a cow, seven swine, a horse, and eight oxen, £6 5s. 4d. Wheat made 8s. a quarter; rye, 7s.; malt, 4s.; pease, 4s.; oats, 16d.; while hay went at 2s. a load. Waggon were worth buying, seeing that four made only 6s. 8d. each!

All the above were sold by the King's Commissioners to Francis Pole, Esq., of Radbourn, who also put him in possession of the 'seite of the said Priory, and all the demaynes to yt apertaynyng to our Sovereigne Lorde the King's use, the 23rd day of October, in the 30th yere of the raigne of our seid Sovereigne Lorde, Kinge Henry the VIII.'

Unsold, were eleven spoons, three little chalices, and the plate of a wooden cross,—62 oz. of white plate; six bells, weighing 47 cwt.; and twenty foddors of lead, worth £4 each.

Debts owing by the monastery amounted to £24 11s. 6d.; some of the items are of interest:—'To Dawson for fish, 20s.'; to Doctor North, £4; 'to Rodger Colyar's wife for candles, 9s.'; 'to Robert Smyth, of Derby, for bryke and tyle, 5s. 13d.'; 'to John Halom, of Stanley, for eron and stele, 20s. od.' And it had granted out £18 13s. 4d. in fees and annuities.

Rewards to the extent of £15 9s. 8d. were given to the Abbot and his dependents at their departure for their immediate wants, and he and his canons were pensioned off to the tune of £88 10s.; the Abbot having £26 13s. 4d. a year, and the others ranging from £5 6s. 8d. to 16s. 8d. The pensions of the abbots seem to have been proportionate to the wealth of the abbeys; and those of the monks according to their age, or the number of years they had worn the habit.

The *Minister's Accounts* (Public Record Office) of 28 Hen. VIII., give a valuable insight into the lands and other properties of this Abbey, but it would be tedious to give the details. At Dale the farms of rectory, mill, lands, and granges brought in £50 11s. od. a year. Their next most valuable properties were in Ilkeston and Little Hallam,

where the farms of land, glebe and otherwise, tithes, &c., brought in £24 12s. 8d. Then followed Alvaston (where a cottage was let for 6s. a year !), with its £13 7s. 8d. Trowel, Stanley, Stanton, Egginton (half the rectory), Heanor (tithes), Ockbrook, Derby, Nottingham, Griff (near Wirksworth), Hilton, Bathley,—ranging from £4 to £11 each. After these came Breaston, Thulston, Kirk Hallam, Selston, Codnor, Ratcliff, Burnaston, Mapperley, Normanton, Hanley, Cossal, Kniveton, Standforth, and West Hallam, with rents, &c., ranging down to 5s. At the time of the Suppression the yearly revenues were valued at £144 12s. 9d.

Perhaps the last official document relating to this Abbey is the *Pension Roll* of Mary's reign (1553). It gives eleven members of the convent, out of the fifteen who were pensioned off in 1538 : the missing ones, among whom was the Abbot, had probably died in the interval. The pensions enumerated on this *Roll* are exactly the same as those of *Inventory* ; it would be interesting to know whether they had been faithfully paid during the fifteen years.

Addit. MSS. 8102. The Dale Extract is given in *Hermitages of Depedale*.





CHAPTER VIII.

The Present Remains.

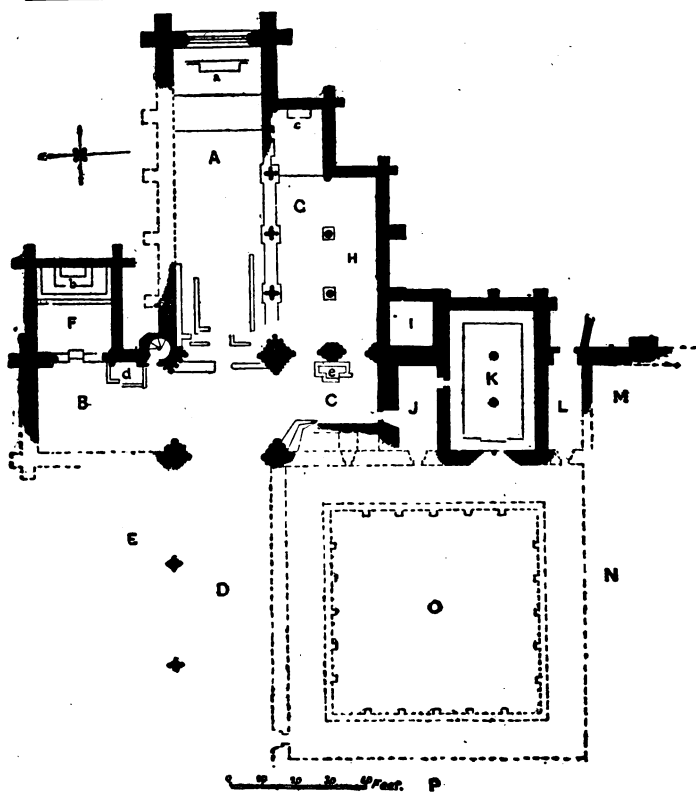
[1890.]

A. THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

THE visitor is presumed to have read Chapter VI., 'A Peep at Dale four hundred years ago,' and hence to be familiar with the general character and arrangement of the Abbey as it once was. If he has not, he should do so at once, as much of the present chapter presupposes an acquaintance with the above.

As late as the view of the Abbey ruins published by the brothers Buck, in 1727, and the visit of Dr. Stukeley in 1730, the south wall of the Nave and a whole range of buildings round the Cloister-court were standing. Indeed, so perfect were portions, that Stukeley could thus write, 'the walls of the cloister, the kitchen, the hall entire, and under it the cellars, at the end of the hall the abbot's parlour, all the ceilings well wainscotted with oak, . . . and a magnificent gate house just dropping.' Alas, within a century later, nothing above ground remained except the arch of the great east window of the Choir, a large fragment called the 'Kitchen,' forming the side of a cottage, and a portion of the Gate-house. The arch owes its preservation to a tradition that so long as it stood the parish would be exempt from tithes, and on this account a portion of the high-way rate was devoted to its restoration about fifty years ago. Thus matters rested, until in 1878-9 the Derbyshire

i. A fac-simile is given in Trueman's *History of Ilkeston*.



PLAN OF DALE ABBEY.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. Choir. | H. St. Werburgh's Chapel. |
| a. High Altar. | I. Muniment Room. |
| B. North Transept. | J. Sacristy. |
| C. South Transept. | K. Chapter Room. |
| D. Nave. | L. Slype. |
| E. Aisle of Nave. | M. Common Room. |
| F. Lady Chapel. | N. Refectory (?) |
| b. Altar of Lady Chapel. | O. Cloister Court. |
| G. St. Margaret's Chapel. | P. Guest Hall (?) |
| c. Altar of St. Margaret's Chapel. | |

Archæological and Natural History Society laid bare the sites of the Choir, Lady Chapel, Transepts, the two south chapels, Chapter-room, and parts of the Common-room and Nave. Besides the foundations and lower courses of the walls, many fragments of mouldings and other details of the superstructure, encaustic tiles, and other objects, were brought to light in the operation.

As already intimated in Chapter VI., the lower portions of the Church (with the exception of three of the tower piers and St. Werburgh's Chapel), and the Chapter and Common-rooms, belong to the Early English period (13th century); and to judge from the view of 1727 the other claustral buildings were of the same date. St. Werburgh's chapel was added, or rebuilt, in the 14th century. The later alterations affected the superstructure, and their remains were naturally found amongst the fallen debris met with on every side during the excavation.

The general character of the Church as a whole has been sufficiently given in Chapter VI.; one point, however, demands attention. It was incidentally remarked that the Church had a tower: *steeple* would have been a happier term, since there is no positive evidence whether it was simply a tower, or a tower and spire. As no indications of a steeple of any sort are to be found in any old account, plan or view, and nothing was found during the excavations that could be identified as having belonged to one,—what proofs are there that there was a steeple at all? Singly, the following are not very conclusive, but together they make evidence of some weight.

1.—It was *usual* for cruciform churches to have a steeple at the intersection of the transepts.

2.—The massiveness of the intersection piers at Dale proves that the builders *intended* a steeple.

3.—We will grant, however, that one was not built. Three of these piers were rebuilt a century later: the motive for this is inconceivable, unless it was in view of the *actual* erection of a steeple over them, for it is incredible that the old ones were deemed insufficiently strong to support a mere roof.

4.—At the Suppression there were six bells, together weighing 47 cwt.: these would require a tower, and it is reasonable to suppose that it stood over the intersection.

5.—That this tower supported a *stone* spire is unlikely, for no stones intended for such a structure have been found upon the site; yet their peculiar shapes would render them unfit for re-use in general building purposes—hence all the more reason why they should remain on the site.

The following *internal* measurements are deducted from Captain Beamish's plan in the Derbyshire A. and N. H. Soc.'s *Journal*, 1879.

Choir,—length from Rood screen, 93 ft. ; breadth, 28 ft. 6 in.

Transepts,—length, 100 ft. ; breadth, 25 ft. 6 in.

Tower Area,—N. and S., 31 ft. ; E. and W., 30 ft.

Nave,—length, assuming it to have been of three bays, 90 ft. 6 in. ; breadth, as Choir.

Lady Chapel,—25 ft. by 23 ft.

St. Margaret's Chapel,—71 ft. by 16 ft. 6 in.

St. Werburgh's Chapel,—52 ft. by 13 ft. 6 in.

Choir Arch,—breadth 21 ft.

Choir East Window,—breadth, 17 ft. 3 in. ; height of apex above floor, 45 ft.

Cloister Court,—85 ft. 6 in. square.

The CHOIR (A) was of five bays, four of which on the south side were taken up with an arcade of four arches opening into St. Margaret's Chapel. The eastern arch was not carried down to the floor, the lower part being walled up flush with the Choir wall, but on the Chapel side forming a recess in which was a founder's tomb surmounted with an elaborate Geometrical canopy. Fragments of this canopy were found during the excavations, and are now preserved in the museum. At the Suppression this tomb was protected with 'a grate of yren, and tymber worke ther.' The pillar bases *in situ*, many fragments of the arch mouldings, and a capital or two of this arcade may be observed on this south side. Of course, the most conspicuous remnant of the Church is the Choir east wall. The mouldings of its window are of two orders, rich and characteristic of their period. The tracery (now almost gone) has been described : the circles seem to have been filled with plate tracery. The original slopes of the gable, and, of course, of the earlier roof or roofs, can be readily traced on the eastern face ; a fragment of coping, with dog-tooth ornamentation on each side, indicating the points whence they arose. On the south end near the top is a window jamb of different character ; this is a fragment of Abbot de Nottingham's clearstory. On a fragment of the north wall, projecting from the east wall, is the jamb of one of the lower windows, similar in style and date to the great east one. Probably this wall had five such windows, one for every bay. As stated on page 49, there are good reasons for supposing that the clearstory had the same number of double windows on each side. In the angle on each side of the great east window may be noticed a vaulting-shaft, cut away for an interval of about four feet, apparently for the insertion of an image and its niche. The capitals of these shafts are rather low, and the absence of any

traces of vaulting above them make it certain that both the earlier and later roofs were of timber. The stone bases of the unusually large high altar, reredos, choir-stalls, and rood-screen still remain. The furniture has been sufficiently indicated in Chapter VI.

The N.E. pier at the CROSSING, with the few steps of the spiral-case in its rear, is part of the 13th-century fabric, the other piers being rebuilt in the following century. The builders of the S.E. pier evidently made an effort to match the N.E. one, but with little success. Several of the vaulting ribs of the tower ceiling were found here.

In the NORTH TRANSEPT (B) may be traced the foundations of the parclose of 'Our Lady of Pity,' and immediately beyond it is the site of the arch into the

LADY CHAPEL (F). This chapel appears to have belonged to the original design. We will describe it in Mr. St. John Hope's words:— 'On the east side of this transept is a large square chapel, which originally had a vaulted roof, but from the way in which the ribs lay on the floor it is evident that it was demolished by knocking out the key-stones, and letting the whole fall. At its east end is the base of the stone altar, in front of which was discovered the original foot-face of encaustic tiles; these were taken up for safety, after a careful sketch had been made of their arrangement. The altar had once been approached by three steps, and the two lower are still in position. These, when found, retained their 'tread' of encaustic tiles, but it was thought advisable to remove them for safety, as in the other case, so that they may be relaid in concrete or cement. It is curious that the first pavement of the chapel had been taken up, and relaid on a level with the edge of the bottom step, but, with the exception of a few large and peculiar yellow tiles, the few which had been suffered to remain were much crushed, apparently by the fall groining, and have been removed to show the perfect ones beneath. The vaulting ribs are of different design to those found in other parts of the Abbey. This chapel was entered from the transept by a wide arch, which was not in the middle line. A wooden screen has been set up here as may be seen from the holes for its insertion in the door jambs.'

In the SOUTH TRANSEPT (C) note the steps near the S.W. tower pier; these, as already stated, are a portion of a flight to the Dormitory. A little further south was an entrance from the Cloister passing under these steps; its doorway is shown on Buck's view, and seems to have been surmounted with a segmental arch. The site of a doorway

1. D. A. & N. H. Soc.'s *Journal*, Vol. I.

to the Sacristy may be readily traced at the south end of this transept. On the east side are indications of two arches; and in front of the intervening pier are foundations, probably of the Rood altar and its accessories. The left arch opened into

ST. MARGARET'S CHAPEL (G), the Choir arcade and founder's tomb of which have just been referred to. Attached to the east wall is the stone base of its altar; and round about are numerous lengths of vaulting ribs with a handsome key-stone bearing a shield, and fragments of window tracery, all found towards this end of the chapel. The ribs and key-stone are only sufficient to cover one bay, so we may conclude that the eastern alone was vaulted, the rest of the chapel, that is, that portion running alongside the adjoining chapel, having a timber roof. A great number of these fragments of tracery pertain a large window, doubtless the east one. It seems to have been of five lights, and of similar construction to the great Choir window, except that in place of circles it had vesicas; but its details were more elaborate and advanced in type, the cusps, however, were still Early English in character. The other arch in this transept opened into

ST. WERBURGH'S CHAPEL (H). This chapel was separated from the preceding by an arcade of three arches, the pillar bases of which are of plain but elegant Decorated (14th century) work. The eastern respond of this arcade is, however, decidedly earlier in type: *this* may indicate that this chapel was *partially rebuilt* in the 14th century, instead of being a new addition to the main fabric. Beneath the middle arch is a sepulchral vault, which, when discovered, was devoid of contents, but human bones and charcoal were found scattered around. From this we may conclude that the despoilers of the Suppression melted down the leaden coffin,—nothing escaped these gentlemen, that could be converted into money! The eastern respond and the pillar next to it are both built upon portions of incised monumental slabs, and between them was a small vault containing three skulls and several bones. No trace of an altar was found, but there was one at the Suppression, which, like that of the adjoining chapel, was ornamented with an alabaster reredos.

The eastern part only of the NAVE (D) was excavated, on account of gardens occupying the rest of the site. Two of the pillar bases of its arcade are exposed. They are Early English in character, bold and effective; and possibly the four semi-engaged shafts of their pillars had intervening bands of dog-tooth ornamentation. These pillars were 30 feet apart from centre to centre, indicating that their arches were of wide span. There is little doubt that the Nave was of three bays, both

Buck's view and Dr. Stukeley's plan representing the clearstory as with three windows on each side. Among the debris will be noticed fragments of Perpendicular tracery; probably they relate to these windows which, according to the above view, were square-headed, of three lights each and apparently early in the style. Near the western pillar base a most interesting 13th-century coffin lid was found, having upon it an incised cross or steps with a short pastoral staff on the dexter side. Mr. St. John Hope considers this to commemorate Walter de Senteney, the first Abbot of Dale, who died, 1226. A large portion of the pavement was, laid bare: the encaustic tiles were disposed in bands for the arrangement of processions, in place of the more usual stones or grooves. In the centre of this pavement was a rifled vault containing a few remarkable tiles with knights tilting,—these will be noticed shortly. Nothing definite is known of the west end of the Nave: it had a doorway into the Cloister or one of its western offices.

For a similar reason, the eastern side only of the CLOISTER (O), was excavated; but a few judiciously placed trial holes proved that the quadrangle was 85 ft. 6 in. square, and that the foundations (5 ft. wide) of the inner walls of the alleys were 10 ft. from the sides. A few particulars of these walls will be noticed soon. The floor of the alleys was paved with encaustic tiles.

THE CHAPTER-ROOM (K). The lower courses of the beautiful doorway into the Cloister alley; the stone platform for the seats around the room; the bases and capitals of the clustered pillars, and lengths of the vaulting ribs—all Early English—remain to tell of the former glory of this room, but as its general appearance has already been described in Chap. VI., we will at once proceed to the monuments. The chief monument is the effigy of a canon in cassock and rochet, holding a book to his breast. Of the various conjectures as to the nature of his office, Mr. Hope's is the most feasible. He regards him as a *claustral* prior, *i.e.*, one who held office in an abbey: a *conventual* prior, *i.e.*, the ruler of a priory would be represented with a pastoral staff instead of book. The grave it covers was opened, and at a depth of three feet the massive oak coffin, sound and perfect, was found. The skeleton it contained reposed on a bed of leaves still green and pliant, although they must have been buried nearly 500 years. No other relics were found. In the S.W. corner is a large double slab of 13th or 14th-century date, each half having an incised cross of different design to the other, the one being accompanied with a pair of shears, and the other with a sword and shield charged apparently with a horse shoe. The incised lines contain the remains of a red pigment. In the centre of the room is a large double coped monument of Purbeck marble, each half charged with a cross fleury.

The ground below this was also dug into, when a decayed wooden and a stone coffin were found, but they were not placed exactly under the tomb. Mr. Hope takes this monument to commemorate Abbots William de Horsley and Roger de Kirketon, who died in 1353 and 1356 respectively. There is also an incised slab alongside the effigy, and part of another built into the north stone platform. Besides these, fragments of brasses and tiles were found, and are now preserved with other objects in the museum on the site of this office. While writing of monuments, mention may be made of another, the original site of which is quite uncertain, as its fragments were found widely scattered. When complete it was a large slab of Purbeck marble, bearing an effigy in brass with a marginal inscription in detached Lombardic letters of the same metal between two narrow filets. The brass insertions are, with two or three exceptions, missing. Only six or pieces of the slab have yet turned up, and five of these bear the following letters:—HIC : I . . . DE : HORSE . . . PICIETV . . . Mr. Hope takes these to refer to Abbot John de Horsley, who died 1333.

Between this room and the South Transept are the lower courses of two chambers, the SACRISTY (J) and probably the MUNIMENT-ROOM (I). The former had a doorway into the Church, and one into the Chapter-room, which, however, was blocked before the Suppression. There was, to judge from Buck's view, another into the Cloister, but for reasons already given the west wall was not excavated.

The SLYPE (L, a narrow passage-chamber on the south side of the Chapter-room) may be readily made out. It had a door-way at each end, and a small one in its south wall into the

COMMON-ROOM (M), or Calefactory. It is uncertain whether this chamber, which seems to have been vaulted, had a direct entrance from the Cloister, as its north wall was probably in a line with the south side of the former. The plinth of the east wall is of bold Early English character, on which side may also be observed the base of the projecting chimney of the fireplace referred to on page 47. The octagonal stone top of the chimney itself lies amongst the *debris*. Between the chimney and the Slype, note the sill of a window, and below it a well-preserved stone drain passing through the wall. The south-western part of this chamber was not excavated on account of a garden on the site.

On the south side of the Cloister site, the only visible remains of the Abbey are the north wall of a cow-house, upon which can be traced one bay of the vaulting of the REFECTORY cellarage, and a mass of masonry further to the S.W., now forming the end of Mr.

Wheatley's (the custodian) cottage. This is locally known as the Kitchen.

Still further away, and north-west of the site of the Abbey, are the remains of the GATE-HOUSE, the lower vaulted chamber of which is now used as a coal cellar for the neighbouring Wesleyan Chapel. On the north wall may be noticed the pier and the spring of the archway—the ancient entrance to the Abbey enclosure. In a field north of this may be observed excavations and mounds; they probably relate to approaches to the Gate-house. In an opposite direction, and west of the present church, are other mounds, which served to dam back the brook so as to form a fish pond. More mounds of a similar nature can be traced lower down the brook.

The Dale relics at MORLEY CHURCH should not be omitted on any account. The distance from the Abbey to Morley, *via* the Hagg, is about three miles, and the route is given on page 11. The nearest station from Morley is Breadsall—two miles; West Hallam is about half-a-mile further, and the way to it is more difficult and less picturesque.

These relics are usually regarded as the gift of Francis Pole, Esq., of Radbourn; it is more likely, however, that they were purchased from him by Henry Sacheverel of Morley. The Dale windows, which include the stone framework as well as the glass, are traditionally said to have come from the Refectory; and this was reiterated by the late Rev. Samuel Fox, *History and Antiquities of Morley Church*, and Dr. Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*. Mr. Hope, however, points out that this tradition has no evidence whatever to substantiate it, and he pleads in favour of the Cloister. Both tracery and glass are characteristic Perpendicular work, such as would be erected under Abbots Spondon and Stanley, yet in the peculiarly full and precise enumeration of the virtues and deeds of these Abbots, no mention is made of the Refectory; and surely a new refectory would, to say the least, be as important as the new Nave and Lady Chapel roofs and Cloister ambulatory ascribed to them. Nor has Buck's view any indications of Perpendicular work on the south side of the Cloister area; on the contrary there is at the western end a large window-opening of characteristic 13th-century type. But stronger objections can be urged. Four of the Dale windows are in a row in the north wall at Morley. They are only twenty-two inches apart, and externally the intervening masonry takes the form of a narrow buttress. A mere glance is sufficient to show that the tracery, jambs, and buttresses are one work, hence that these four windows occupied the same relation to each other in the Abbey as they do now. But their masonry seems altogether too slight and weak to support so large a roof as

the refectory of a great abbey would demand. Further, plinth mouldings are carried around the buttresses as well as along the intervening walls: these mouldings *may* have been made at the time of the removal of these windows, but it is more probable that they were brought from Dale with them. Now we know that the Dale Refectory had an undercroft, as usually was the case,—in other words, it was a second story. But the walls of a second story *would not require these plinth mouldings*. But while unsuited for such a structure as a refectory, it is well adapted for a cloister wall, and admirably so for that of Dale, in that six of these windows make up the estimated length of one side of its garth. We know that the cloister quadrangle was 85 ft. 6 in. square, and that 10 ft. from the sides are the foundations, 5 ft. wide, of the alley walls. We may assume that these walls (about 18 in. thick), with their buttresses, were planted as nearly as possible along the middle line of these foundations, leaving, say, one foot on each side uncovered. This would allow of alleys 11 ft. wide, and of a central garth between the walls 60 ft. 6 in. square. Now the above windows, inclusive of the half-sets of mullion-mouldings on their jambs, are 8 ft. 6 in. wide, and the intervening spaces between them are 1 ft. 4 in. Six of these windows, with their jambs, would be 60 ft. 4 in., or only two inches short of our estimated length of the Cloister walls.

A century ago all the Dale windows in this Church were filled with painted glass and protected with shutters; but now the glazings of only three remain, and the shutters have long since disappeared. Like the tracery, the old glass is characteristic 15th-century work: it was carefully restored in 1847.

In the three lights—one is blocked by a modern monument—of the east window, are full length figures of SS. Mary, Ursula, and Mary Magdalene; the first-mentioned is extremely dignified and well designed, and all three are canopied with the rich tabernacle work of the period. The St. Ursula is unique: she is represented as ascending to heaven with angels, two of whom hold up her mantle by the hem, and gathered together therein are eleven diminutive figures—her fellow-martyrs, all crowned like herself.¹ The lower compartments of this window have three groups representing 'The Holy Church,' 'The Glorious Company of the Apostles,' and 'The Noble Army of Martyrs.'²

The window in the north wall next to this is divided into twelve compartments, of which ten are devoted to the legendary History of the

1. For the inscriptions on this light, see page 46.

2. There is a good illustrated article on this window in the D. A. & N. H. Soc.'s *Journal*, Vol. VIII., page 143.

Cross. Its details will bear a close inspection, and as usual in ancient art, the figures are in the costumes of the artist's day. The first compartment gives the construction of the cross; in the second our Lord is being bound upon it, and this is immediately followed by its burial. The fourth and fifth episodes are the vision of St. Helena, three hundred years later, and consequent discovery of the cross. The thieves' crosses having been also buried with our Lord's, some difficulty arose as to the identity of the latter; but each being held over a dead body, the true cross restored it to life: the sixth compartment shows this miracle, and the rage of the devils at the discovery. The next stage was the theft of the cross by Chosroes, the infidel King of Persia, but after a long war he was taken captive and slain by Heraclius—the seventh compartment. Then follows in successive compartments, the baptism of Chosroes' youngest son, the triumphal entry of Heraclius into Jerusalem, and the placing of the cross in a chapel dedicated to it. The remaining two compartments have a full-length St. James the Less, and a figure made up of fragments.

Equally interesting is the next window, which gives part of the legendary history of Robert Horn, known as St. Robert, the hermit of Knaresborough. He was born in the 11th century, at York, of which city his father was twice mayor. At an early age he entered the monastery of New Minster in that city, but shortly after left, disgusted with the lax discipline. We next find him as a hermit at Knaresborough, where is said to have taken place, with slight variations, the episodes recorded in this window, which are to this effect:—He was greatly troubled by the incursions of the deer from the neighbouring forest; and accordingly he is seen busy shooting them in the first compartment. This led to the complaint of the keepers to the king. St. Robert seems to have been a match for them, for in the third, he is seen appealing to the King with such success, that he receives the royal order to 'pinn them,' which he promptly does in the next. Again the keepers complained; and again St. Robert got the best of it—this time he was told to 'go whome' and yoke the deer and plough with them, and as much land as he could convert to tillage in one day with one team of deer, he might have for his own. The seventh compartment presents a very animated scene; St. Robert is ploughing with a very curious plough drawn by two deer, and in the distance two Austin canons (his associates) are busily chopping down trees and brushwood. The eighth

1. These scenes are popularly identified with the trespasses of the Austin canons of Depedale in the King's forest,—a mistake that found its way into Pilkington's *View of Derbyshire*, Bateman's *Vestiges*, and (in spite of all that has been written of late years), Pendleton's *History of Derbyshire* (1886), which devotes five lines to this most interesting place!

compartment has nothing to do with St. Robert it has a monk reading a lecture to an erring brother whose hands are manacled : probably it is a fragment of another window. The lowest compartments have the shields of Dale Abbey, Pole, Bateman and Sitwell, in modern glass.

The arch of the *south porch* is said to have come from Dale, and there is no reason to doubt it. It is of the fine sandstone much used in the 13th-century work in the Abbey, and is obviously an insertion. Its deep cut Early English mouldings and characteristic jamb shafts are remarkably like those of the choir windows. On the south side of the chancel is a beautiful early Perpendicular *canopy* made of the same fine sandstone : it covers a slab for which it was not intended, to the memory of Henry Statham, who died in 1480. This probably also came from Dale.

There is no reason to doubt that the old wood-work in RADBOURN CHURCH came from Dale Abbey, seeing that Francis Pole, the purchaser of most of its effects, resided at this place. These relics consist of eighteen panels—thirteen of which form the front of the Hall pew—certain stall ends and a handsome font cover, the general characters of all of which, were noted in Chapter VI. The panels are 36 inches deep and about 13 inches wide, so with intervening posts of the usual size, they would stretch across the entrance of the Choir and make a suitable basement for a rood screen. There are two series of stall ends,—one, perhaps two, having the linen-fold pattern and Tudor foliage as the above panels ; the rest are smaller, decorated with tracery and apparently of a little earlier date. The latter may be some of the ‘certain seats of woode’ of the Lady Chapel at the Suppression. The lower surface (bearing the emblems of the Passion) of the font cover seems to be of better and earlier workmanship than its superstructure, which has an intermixture of Classic and Mediæval elements in its decoration. Probably this cover was originally a simple flap, covered with the font (*cir.* 1460) now in the Parish Church of Dale ; but there is no reason to think with Dr. Cox, that it was added to, and brought to its present shape, *subsequent* to its removal from the Abbey.

THE ENCAUSTIC TILES. The remains of the Abbey kiln, situated immediately outside the gate, were discovered about 30 years ago. Many tiles were then found, but unfortunately were broken up to mend the roads. The ‘find’ of tiles during the excavations was unusually large, and the best specimens are now preserved in the Museum. As

1. *Churches of Derbyshire*, Vol. III., page 256. The font cover has recently been carefully restored, and is now suspended over the font by a chain and pulley.

a rule they are much worn, but the writer has recently succeeded in distinguishing more than sixty different patterns. Many of these occur amongst the Morley tiles, which are traditionally said to have come from Dale. Similar designs have been found at Boulton, Kegworth, Thurgarton and elsewhere; but it is not safe to conclude that they are products of the Dale kiln, for makers everywhere passed on their designs or copied from one another. Some years ago, a kiln was discovered at Repton, and in it were tiles bearing designs of Dale specimens: and many of the Dale heraldic tiles relate to families who had nothing to do with either the Abbey or the district.

It would exceed the limits of this work, to enter into the details of the Dale tiles. Their designs are as a rule of great beauty, and some are extremely grotesque. Amongst the heraldic ones, occur the ancient arms of England and France quarterly, of the Earls of Lancaster and Leicester, of Ferrers, Grey, Cantelupe, Montford (?), Woodboro, Ross, Morley, Zouch, Mauley, Dispenser, Deincourt, &c.

Some extremely curious large tiles with green glaze and impressed designs were also found; several have two knights in characteristic 13th-century armour, tilting. A broken wall-tile has an elaborate canopy design, exactly like one of the beautiful Malvern series.

Of other relics, more or less doubtful, of Dale Abbey, mention may be made of fragments of stained glass in the north aisle of HATHERSAGE CHURCH, bearing an ape and other animal devices¹, and a window-frame of Perpendicular date at CHADDESSEN CHURCH, alluded to in Chapter I. More interesting is the stone canopy of a niche in RISLEY churchyard, now used as a flower vase: as Risley Hall was to a large extent built with stone from Dale Abbey, a century or more ago, it is highly probable that this canopy was brought at the same time. It is of early Perpendicular date, beautifully carved, and the niche it belonged to must have been in the jamb of a doorway.

B. THE HERMITAGE.

Rock hermitages are by no means uncommon. There are in Derbyshire two other examples,—one, 'Anchor Church,' overlooking the Trent near Ingleby, is considerably larger than the Dale hermitage, but it has been much altered in recent times. The other is at Cratcliff Tor near Birchover in the Peak; it has on its eastern wall a well-preserved crucifix in high relief. The best English example is St. Robert's Chapel at Knaresborough; others are at Blackstone Rock near Bewdley, Lenton near Nottingham, and Wetheral near Carlisle.

¹. See *Churches of Derbyshire*.

No words can more concisely describe the Dale Hermitage than Mr. Kerry's;—

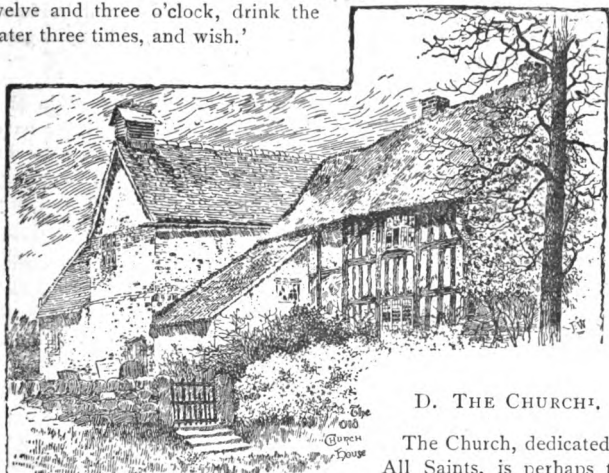
'The Hermitage is excavated in an elevation of soft sandstone, which forms the southern boundary of the Dale. It consists at the present time of one apartment, measuring about six yards by three, which is entered by a doorway between two window holes. One of these (the western) has been formed out of a doorway; and there can be no doubt but that originally the cell was divided into *two* compartments, the one towards the west forming the oratory, and the other with the present doorway and adjacent window east of it, the ordinary abode of the hermit. From the description of the Hermitage in the *Chronicle* of Dale, it seems that the hermit built his altar "*towards the south*;" that is, opposite the door of the oratory. From this it must be inferred that the smaller of the two apartments (the one to the west, with the half-blocked door) was the room set apart for devotion, the *narrowness* of the place preventing the usual eastward arrangement. Close by, in the western wall, may still be seen a niche, as if for a lamp or some such thing. There is a similar niche with a small oil dish, for a light, hewn in its stone sill, in the narrow oratory of St. Cuthbert beneath Hexham Abbey Church. There are other holes here and there in the walls, which, it is to be feared, are of no great antiquity, for the place has served other purposes than those of austere seclusion and devotion. About seventy years ago, it was actually occupied by one of the inhabitants of the village during the rebuilding of his cottage and here too he erected his stocking-frame! But this is not all; in this very place his wife presented her spouse with a son! The fireplace was constructed in the N.E. corner, and the careful observer may discover the blocked chimney-vent. The "stopping" has been judiciously done, and time has harmonised the work with its surroundings.'

C. THE HERMIT'S WELL.

The spring mentioned on page 17, is scarcely worth a visit. It is now a stone-girt pool surrounded by a quagmire, in a field immediately east of the Church. It has long been accounted a curative well by the rustics; one version of it is as follows:—'A hermit once going through

1. There is a similar niche on the right hand of the crucifix at Cratcliff.
2. *Hermitages of Depedale.* Since writing this book somebody has carved a king's head on the west jamb of the Hermitage doorway. He apparently was the mischievous individual, described as a 'gentlemanly man,' who was caught in the act of carving his name on the Abbey ruins.
3. Mr. St. John Hope; *Antiquary* for March, 1890.

Deep Dale being very thirsty, and for a time not being able to find any water, at last came upon a stream which he followed up to the place where it rose; here he dug a well, returned thanks to the Almighty, and blessed it, saying it should be blessed for evermore, and be a cure for all ills. Another version is that the famous Hermit of Deep Dale, who lived in the Hermitage which is close by the well, discovered this spring and dug the well, which never dries up, nor does the water diminish in quantity, however dry the season, and blessed it. Many marvellous cures are still ascribed to its waters. It is also used as a wishing well. The *modus operandi* is to go on Good Friday, between twelve and three o'clock, drink the water three times, and wish.'



D. THE CHURCH.

The Church, dedicated to All Saints, is perhaps the most interesting relic of monastic Dale, and it certainly is the most puzzling. It is one of the smallest (26 ft. long and 25 ft. across) and most curious of English parish churches. Incorporated with it, and under the same roof, is a dwelling house—the Church House. It is said that the predecessor of this house—for the old one was unfortunately pulled down a few years since—was half a-century ago an inn, the bar-room of which, served as the vestry and had a convenient door into the aisle, until scandal at length necessitated its being built up. The eccentricities of this diminutive church do not end here. It has a 'bishop's throne'—a relic of extra-episcopal times when the Earls Stanhope were

1. The writer intends shortly to send a more detailed account of this curious structure to the *Reliquary*.

lay bishops of the parish : it is a massive arm-chair of very domestic type, all aglare with paint and varnish, and decorated with scrolls and scallop shells. The communion table (a chest), Puritan fashion, is in front of the reading desk ; and the latter occupies the orthodox site of the former, and has on one side of it, the tottering panelled oak pulpit of 1635, and on the other, the clerk's seat. The chalice is one of the largest in England, being nine inches high, and its bowl 15 inches in circumference. The general appearance of the interior,—the odd collection of pews and benches, and the numerous props and struts which have from time to time been introduced as the original timbers showed signs of decay—is extremely quaint. The old Church House was a post-and-panel structure, and the present one, although a good building in its way, has little in common with it.

Mr. Kerry deals at length in his pamphlet with the origin and history of this Church. He, as already stated, believes that the nave and chancel were the Gome's private chapel, and that the aisle and the old Church House at its west end mark the site of the hermit's oratory and cottage. There is good reason to think that he is substantially correct.

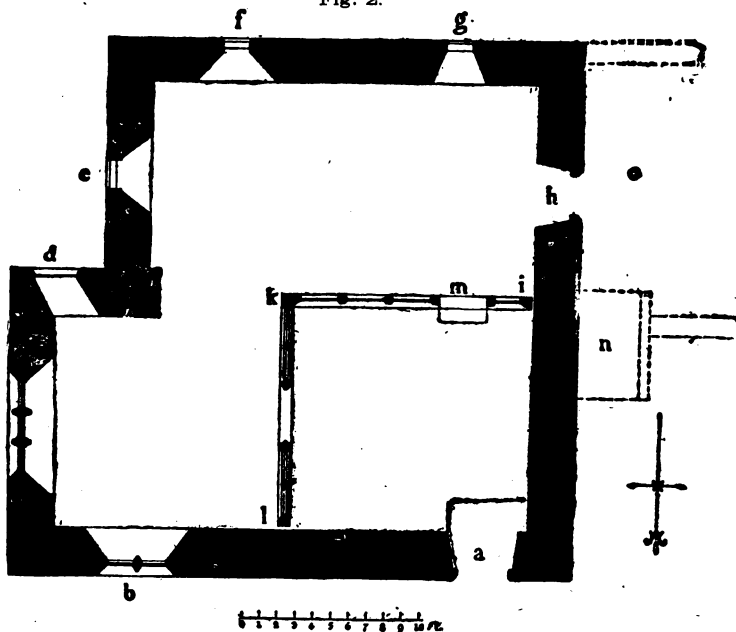
The Church consists, as may readily be seen on the accompanying plan, of a nave prolonged eastwards to form a short chancel, and a south aisle. The nave has a north door (a). The chancel has a north flat-topped window of two lights (b), an east one (c) of three lights surmounted with a shallow pointed arch (both these windows are well seen on the frontispiece), and a small south flat-topped casement window of one light (d). The aisle has an east (e), and two south (f, g) windows, all flat-topped and of one light each, and a west doorway now blocked up (h). The aisle is not marked off from the nave by an arcade of arches ; but along the usual line for one is an oak screen, or rather, framework for panelling, the panels having long been cut out,—this we will call the 'Side Screen' (i, k). Instead of extending to the south wall of the chancel (j), it finishes in a large post (k). From this post, another screen (the 'Chancel Screen') stretches across the nave to the north wall (k, l) ; this has always been an open screen. These screens and their angle post are an integral part of the structure (otherwise they would, no doubt, have long since been removed), the post² being an important support of the roof, and the screens bearing the joists of the floor above. The second story floor, now reached by some ugly

1. *Hermitages of Depedale*, a reprint of an article in the *Reliquary*, Vol. XXI.

2. This post is seen on the left hand of the interior of the second story.

modern steps outside the south wall, extends over the whole internal area except the chancel, so that the Church might be described as of two stories but with a common chancel.¹ The walls of the second story are, with the exception of the north side (an obviously modern brick insertion) of post-and-panel work, like the old Church House. The chief roof runs *across* the Church, presenting a timbered gable north

Fig. 2.



and south, while the other roofs—those of the chancel and the Church House (the old as well as the new)—die into it on opposite sides. This story receives light from a window under each gable.

We will now endeavour to unravel the history of this curious building. There is no doubt that the nave and chancel at least, are that "Chapel of Depedale" which William de Grendon bestowed on the proposed

1. Similar internal arrangements are noted in Cutts' *Middle Ages*, at the chapels of the preceptory of Chobham, the Coyston Almshouses, Leicester, Tewkesbury Abbey Church and elsewhere.

new abbey in 1199 or earlier, on condition that one of its canons should daily say mass therein for the repose of his, his ancestors' and successors' souls. "*The*," not *his*, chapel,—this implies that it was no newly-built structure, but one well-established and well-known in the district. Who can doubt that it was, half-a-century earlier, the Gome's private chapel—"her Chapel of Depedale?" We may regard her date as approximately 1150. Is there anything in the present Church to connect it with her day? There is. On the respond-like projection (j) of the south wall of the chancel is a fragment of Norman string-course—probably the impost whence an arch once arose. This, and the wall in which it is built, certainly belong to her time, hence there is little doubt they formed part of her chapel. Both Mr. Kerry and Mr. Geo. Bailey consider that the north doorway is also Norman: if, so, the existing shell of the nave and chancel must be regarded as the identical chapel. It is possible, however, that this doorway, although round-arched, is Early English.

The present aisle was built towards the close of the 12th, or very early in the following century. This is proved by the wide splays of the narrow windows and the character of the doorway into the Church House. In conformity with the style of the period, these windows would be pointed: how they came to be square-headed as at present, will be explained shortly. But as the former Norman archway at j, just alluded to, was neither a doorway nor a window, it must have opened into a chamber of some sort, upon the site of the aisle. This would be the hermit's oratory: the lady would naturally have her chapel built against it, and have an opening made through the intervening wall to allow of the hermit participating in her son's ministrations.

The remaining walls of the nave and chancel are contemporary with the north doorway, as an inspection of its jambs and arch will prove. If this doorway is Norman, we must regard these walls as parts of the original structure; if, on the other hand, it is Early English, the chapel was to a large extent rebuilt in that period. A little later (say, 1250), new east and north windows were inserted in the chancel, of which the jambs of the present are relics. These jambs fit rather clumsily into the older masonry, and the fine white sandstone of which they are made contrasts with the coarse grit of the latter. The heads of these windows were considerably loftier than at present, and probably they contained geometrical tracery. The existing aisle is undoubtedly a relic of Priory times.

For two centuries the structure seems to have remained practically untouched. In the 15th century it underwent a great transformation,

the chief end of which was to introduce a second story and a wing westward of the aisle, but this wing may have replaced an older structure on the site. The introduction of this story necessitated the walls being lowered and brought to a common level, the windows being decapitated in the process. No attempt was made to re-arch the aisle windows, or the south one of the chancel; but the chancel gable being rebuilt, a shallow pointed arch was thrown over the east window, while that on the north received a stone lintel. An indication of these operations is well seen on the inside of the east window: on each jamb is an engaged

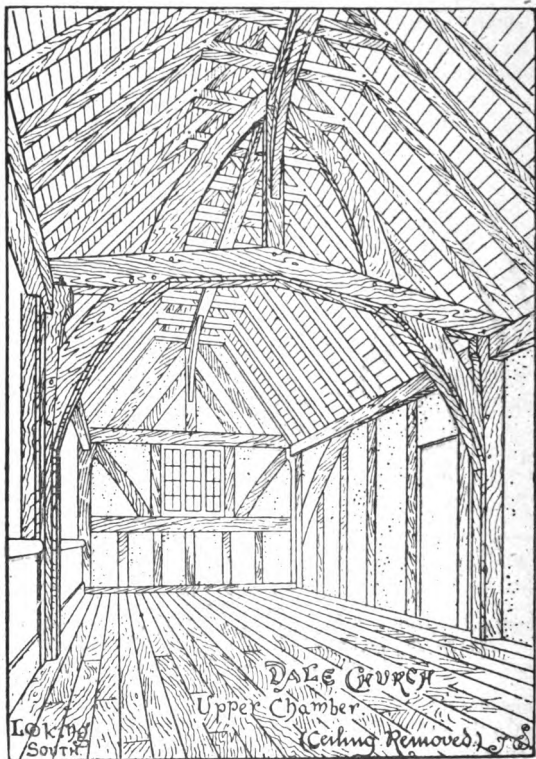
Fig. 3.



shaft (now devoid of its capital) carried *part way through* the arch above. On the angle of this arch is a clumsy imitation of these shafts, but no attempt has been made to mitre it into them. The existing tracery was inserted at the same time, and, like the arch and the lintel, the coarseness of its stone contrasts with that of the jambs. The new second story also necessitated the present roof-arrangement. Previously the Church had probably two parallel high-pitched roofs, as in Fig. 3, (where the dotted line represents the level to which the walls were reduced on this occasion). The second story consists, as already stated,

of a large chamber; the north, south and west walls (of substantial post-and-panel work) of which are erected upon the corresponding walls of the older basement. The east side, however, falls short of the east wall of the aisle,—extending only to post k, which is the central roof-

Fig. 4.

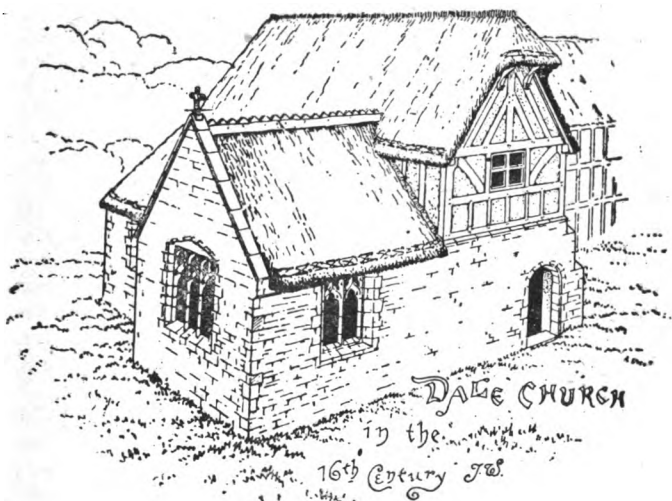


support on this side. This chamber is open to the chancel, from which it was with little doubt protected by a parapet of some sort, indications of which may be seen on the post; and it is almost certain that there was a similar arrangement with regard to the eastern end of the aisle. The nave was, at the same time, panelled off from the aisle by a

wooden partition in lieu, probably, of a former arcade or wall of stone ; and, it is almost unnecessary to say, the chancel screen was introduced at the same time.

The present roof of this chamber—the great transverse roof of the Church—is the one then erected. It is sound, handsome, and of peculiar construction, but unfortunately is hidden by a clumsy modern ceiling. It is divided into two bays by a tie-beam with accessories, one end of which rests upon post k, and the other on the west wall. The general character of this chamber (with the ceiling removed) will be

Fig. 5.



gathered from Fig. 4,—the parapet shown in front of the roof-post overlooking the chancel, and beyond, the eastern portion of the aisle, as just intimated. This chamber seems to have been entered from the second story of the Church House by a door, indicated on the right-hand side of the sketch.

The new wing consisted of a two-story post-and-panel house (see page 77) immediately behind the west wall of the aisle. This house underwent great alterations in 1651,—a relic of which date, the parlour mantel-beam, is now stupidly placed *outside* the new house. Mr. Kerry considered that the only remains of the 15th-century house were the

west end, and the western-half of the north side, the posts of which were more closely placed together than in the newer portions. A bay window of the old house is inserted in the south wall of the present one.

Mr. Kerry judging from the mouldings of the screens, fixes the date of these alterations as about 1480, that is, during the rule of Abbot Stanley the rebuilder of the Cloister. The fact that the tracery of the chancel windows exactly corresponds in design with that of the Dale Windows at Morley, which were probably from the Cloister, adds no small weight to Mr. Kerry's opinion.

It is clear then, that allowing for minor alterations this 15th-century transformation brought the Church to its present form. Fig. 5 is an ideal restoration : the post-and-panel work of the north end of the upper chamber (now of brick) is copied from the south side, and the projecting bellcote is conjectural, but there are remains of tenons inside the gable, which prove that there was some such structure on the outer face. The stone bell-cote of Fig. 3 is also conjectural : before the old house was destroyed there was a broad buttress-like projection (shown on the plan a, Fig. 2) on the outer face of the west wall of the Church. It was supposed by Mr. Kerry to have been the abutment of his alleged arcade ; but after careful investigation, the writer found that it was not in the central line of such an arcade, and was altogether too large and broad for a buttress of so small a building ; on the other hand it admirably fulfilled the conditions of a basement to a bell-turret.

The former uses of this curious structure. We have no reason to suppose that the daily mass instituted by the Grendons ever lapsed during monastic times ; on the contrary, the remains of an altar in the chancel hacked away in true Reformation style, indicates that masses were celebrated here to the last. Nor is there proof that the Church House had a predecessor before the 15th century ; indeed, it is extremely unlikely that the hermit's oratory and cottage were so large as to include the site of the house : the aisle is amply large enough for both. Although the hermit was undoubtedly dead when the present aisle was built, there were in all probability successors to his hermitage and to the tithe of Borrowwash mill,—“the brethren serving God at *Depedale*,” of the Abbey times. There are numerous examples of anchorholds or kindred offices attached to churches, the more notable being those of Rettenden (Essex), Crickhowel (South Wales), Clifton Campville (Staffordshire) and Warmington (Warwick). They are generally attached to, or near the chancels ; have window-like openings towards the altar, and usually consist of two small chambers, one often placed

over the other. Now it is a significant fact, that the projecting wall which bears the fragment of Norman moulding, does not present a neatly trimmed vertical face to the ground as we would expect the respond of an arcade or the jamb of a door to do; but two feet below the moulding it begins to rudely slope forward, as though the opening had a sill, which was afterwards hacked away. This opening was certainly not a window or doorway. May it not have been of a similar nature to those above,—an opening to enable an anchorite to watch the altar and participate in the daily ministrations thereat? Another little circumstance favours the suggestion. The westward window of the aisle is somewhat different from the other two. Does not this suggest that the aisle was divided into two rooms, an eastward oratory, and a dwelling room in its rear, by a transverse wall?

There is no reason to suppose, assuming that our hypothesis is true, that the 15th-century alterations upset this arrangement. The panelled partition with its door may have replaced a partition of stone. But, in any case, it is clear enough that the object of these alterations was to add a new function to the structure,—probably that of an infirmary. The upper chamber was admirably adapted for this purpose, in that the sick and infirm could both see and hear the priest at the altar.¹

The alterations of later times consist firstly, of those of Reformation date; to render the basement suitable for congregational worship,—as the removal of the panels of the side screen, the introduction of the stout oak benches, and the substitution of a table for the altar. Secondly, the Puritan disposition of the chancel, effected, perhaps, in 1632, the date of the pulpit; and thirdly, the 'beautifyings' of more recent times, in the shape of deal pews, ugly props, and the mutilation of the upper chamber.

The thorough structural restoration of this interesting fabric cannot be much longer staved off, nor is it desirable that it should be. But it is to be hoped that the drastic measures which 'improved away' the old Church House, will not be adopted. The great aim must be to restore the fabric to its Reformation condition. The roof should be re-opened—the south wall of the upper chamber re-constructed to match the north one—the bell restored to its original position—the paint removed that now hides the rich tones of old oak—the decayed timbers replaced by new—the modern pews and props that cumber the interior, swept away. In order that a better view of pulpit and chancel may be obtained from

1. The idea that it might have been the Guest Hall must be dismissed as most improbable.

the upper floor, the south bay should be open to the eastern end of the aisle, as the north bay is to the chancel, and similarly protected by a parapet; this would admit of the pulpit occupying a more orthodox position. An appropriate means of access to this floor will be a difficulty. Had the old Church House been acquired by the parish, it might, with suitable internal modifications, have been made a valuable auxiliary to the Church. With the aisle door and the one into the upper chamber re-opened, and an intervening staircase within the house, the question would have been settled, say nothing of a commodious vestry on the ground floor, and class-rooms above.

Little now remains to be said of this old fabric. Since 1702 it has been served by the rectors of Stanton-by-Dale, a parish formerly within the peculiar jurisdiction of the Abbot of Dale. The chalice bears the date 1701, and was the gift of 'ye Honorable Anchitell Gray,' of Risley Hall, who also gave the large Prayer Book. The Registers date from 1670. The bell was cast in 1798—the date, perhaps, when so much mischief was done to the structure. The present brick floors and the paint seem to have been introduced later; the writer is assured by one of the oldest inhabitants of the place that she can remember when the floors were of mud and the benches and screens 'were dark like bog oak.' There are fragments of 15th-century stained glass in the windows. An old incised alabaster slab rests against the west wall: its almost illegible inscription is rendered by Mr. Kerry as '*orale pro aiabus Petri Nesse, Thome Rogers, Johis Mid MDXXXII.*' A neat marble tablet against the north wall commemorates the Right Hon. Philip Henry, Earl of Stanhope, Lord of the Manor and Lay Bishop of this Church, who died March 2, 1855. The font belonged to the Abbey Church, and has been sufficiently described in a previous chapter. Many years ago it was removed from the village to Stanton Hall, where it served as a flower vase on the lawn, until at length it was brought back to Dale by the late Mr. Hancock, of Boyha Grange, and deposited in the church-yard. At the suggestion of Mr. Kerry it was, a few years ago, placed in its present and more appropriate resting place.

* * * * *

An old post-and-panel house near the remains of the Gate-house, is undoubtedly another relic of the Abbey, but what its purpose was is unknown. The front alone is exposed; the remaining sides being built against by modern extensions and the next house. It is a simple parallelogram in plan, with a stone plinth and cellars. The lower story is divided into two rooms, in the larger of which may be traced the recess of the large open fire-place, containing a modern grate. The

excellent oak staircase also opens into this room, but it is now closed in. The upper story projects in front over the lower. In the disposition of its timbers and some other respects, this house has a close resemblance to the older portions of the old Church House, and with little doubt, it was erected at the same time.

* * * * *

The wall tile mentioned on page 75 as similar to the well-known Malvern series, is shown at the left-hand upper corner of the cover of this book, and other tiles are reproduced in one of the head-pieces. The Abbey arms as given on the cover and in the vignette of the ruined east window at the head of the first chapter, are taken from the modern glass at Morley.

* * * * *

A further examination of the Dale windows at Morley (since this work went to the press), proves that the range of four in the north aisle is incomplete, by, at least, one window at each end; that is, this range originally consisted of *six* windows, at least. On the other hand, the jambs of the east window of the aisle were never in the close vicinity of others. This, at first sight, tells against the Cloister theory of the origin of these windows, for where would an *isolated* one find place in a Cloister? But, in reality, it tends to confirm the theory: It was noticed on page 72 that *six* of these windows would just make up each side of the Cloister-garth. Now if one complete range, that is, one side of the Cloister, was purchased for Morley, it would result in five complete windows when divided as above,—the four central windows being used for the side of the aisle, and the two remaining jambs (the end jambs of the range), with the tracery of one of the end windows going to make up the east window, the tracery of the other being useless.

* * * * *

For the brief 'tolerance and continuance,' referred to on page 59, Dale paid into the Court of Augmentations the fine of £166 13s. 4d.

* * * * *

The Abbey lands around Dale, which at the Suppression were handed over to Francis Pole (page 61), passed in moities by purchase to the ancestors of the Earl of Stanhope (the present holder) in the 18th Century.

THE END.

Index.

- Abbots, List of, 14, 53
 Agatha, St., *see Easby*
 Albinus, Abb. of Darley, 22
 Aldwerke, William de, 39
 Alesby, Roger de, 12, 20, 22, 28
 Alselin, Goisfred, 30, 31, 32
 Altar, High, 49, 60, 66
 ,, Rood, 49, 60, 68
 ,, *see Chapels*
 Alvaston, 16, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33,
 34, 42, 57, 62
 Ambaston, 30, 34
 Anchor Church, 75
 Annuities, 61
 Arbour Hill, 10
 Ashover, 39
 Augustine of Lavendon, 55
 Augustine Canons and Rule, 18, 22
 Auditory or Parlour, 25, 63
 Azelinus, 32

 Badley, 34
 Bagthorpe, 37
 Bakehouse, 25, 61
 Baldock Mill, 11, 24
 Bardolph, *Fam.*, 31 ; Thomas, 31
 Base Court, 45, 51
 Bateman, Arms of, 74
 Bathley, 22, 34, 38, 40, 62 ;
 William de, 39
 Bayham Abbey, 54
 Beauchief Abbey, 54, 55
 Beauvale Priory, 37, 38
 ,, Pedigree, 37
 Bebe, John, Abb. of Dale, 47, 58

 Benedict, St., Rule of, 22
 Bevercote, 40
 Bilborough, 41
 Bishop's Chamber, 61
 ,, Throne, Dale Church, 78
 Birling, 31
 Black Book, 59, 60
 Blount, *Fam.*, 31
 Boculscote, 40
 Bolington Priory, 40
 Bolsover Castle, 39
 Boney, William de, Abb. of
 Dale, 56
 Boney Chamber, 61
 Borrowash, 17, 84
 Boulton, 33, 75
 Boyhay Grange, 12, 19, 20, 22,
 24, 35, 61, 86
 Boyleston, 36
 Bradbourne, 55
 Brassington, 39, 55
 Breadsall, 11, 12 ; Park, 23
 Breaston, 39, 62
 Brewhouse, The, 25, 60
 Brinsley, 40
 Brough Mill, 41
 Brunsbroc, 19
 Buck's View of Abbey, 46, 63,
 65, 67, 69, 70, 71
 Burguylin, William de, 39
 Burnaston, 62
 Burnwood, 19
 Burg, 17
 Buttery, 47, 60
 Byford, John de, 28

- Caen Castle, 33
 Calke Priory, 21, 22
 Campion, Father, 11
 Canons, Regular and Secular, 22
 Cantelupe, de, Arms of, 75 ;
 Eustachia, 37, 39 ; Nicholas,
 37, 39 ; Thomas, 38 ; Wil-
 liam, 38
 Carlton, 39
 Cauz, Robert de, 30, 31, 32, 35
 Cellarage, 47
 Cellarer, 51
 Chase, 23
 Chasemoor, 22, 24, 35
 Chaddesden, 13, 42, 75 ; Chantry
 at, 13, 42 ; Chamber, 57 ;
 Fam., 13 ; Geoffrey, Henry,
 Matthew, Nicholas de, 42
 Chalice, Dale Church, 78, 86
 Chandos, John, 36
 Chandos-Pole, *Fam.*, 36
 Chapel of Our Lady, 48, 50, 56,
 60, 65, 66, 67, 74
 ,, Our Lady of Pity, 48, 67
 ,, St. Margaret, 41, 49, 50,
 60, 65, 66, 68
 ,, St. Werburgh, 49, 50, 56,
 60, 65, 66, 68
 Chapter Room, 45, 46, 60, 65, 69
 Chester, Countess of, 21
 Chevercourt, *Fam.*, 40 ; Nicholas
 de, 39
 Child, Nicholas, 26, 40 ; Ralph,
 33 ; William, 40
 Cholham, 79
 Choir, The, 49, 50, 60, 63, 65, 66
 Circator, 57
 Clerk, 35
 Clifford, Sir William, 31
 Clifton Campville, 84
 Cloister, The, 45, 46, 49, 50, 56,
 60, 63, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71,
 84, 87
 Clock, 49
 Codnor, 16, 62
 Coliston, 40
 Culyer, Roger, 61
 Common Room, 47, 65, 70
 Communion Table, Dale Ch., 78
 Convent, 28
 Cook, Peter, Hermit, 22, 34
 Cossal, 40, 62
 Coyston, 79
 Cratcliff Hermitage, 75, 76
 Crich, 33
 Crickhowel, 84
 Cross, Golden, Vision of, 17
 Cross, The Invention of, 46, 73
 Croxton, 40 ; Richard de, 40
 Dale, 9, 10, 28, 33, 44, 61
 ,, Abbey, Arms of, 74, 87
 ,, Church, 17, 20, 74, 77-86 ;
 Peculiar internal arrange-
 ment of, 84, 85
 ,, Church House, 77, 78, 79,
 83, 84, 85
 Darley, 31, 33, 34, 42
 Dawson, 61
 Debts of Abbey, 61
 Deincourt, Arms of, 75
 Denby Park, 23
 Depedale, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22,
 26, 27, 28, 35, 77, 84
 ,, Chapel of, 18, 20, 27, 78, 79
 ,, Priory of, 21, 22
 Derby, 42, 62
 ,, All Saints', 16
 ,, Archdeacon of, 39
 ,, Earls of, 41
 ,, Robert de, 55
 ,, St. Mary's Church and
 Street, 15, 16
 ,, St. Mary's Bridge Chapel, 16
 ,, St. Michael's Church, 30,
 32, 33
 Derbyshire Archæological and
 Nat. Hist. Society, 65
 Dispencer, Arms of, 75
 Dormitory, The, 45, 46, 49, 51,
 60, 67
 Dunn's Hill, 13
 Dunstable, Prior of, 55
 Durdent Walter, 21
 Eashy, 28
 Edlaston, 56
 Ednaston, 30
 Eggington, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35,
 55, 62

- Elvaston, 12, 30, 31, 32, 34
 England and France, Arms of, 75
 Eremiti Augustini, 18
 Erewash, 17
 Etwall, 30, 32
 Everingham, *Fam.*, 35, 38

 Fees, 61
 Ferrars, 34, 75
 Feudal System, 30
 Findern, 39
 Fitz Geremund, Ralph, 16, 19, 30, 31, 32, 34
 Fitz Ralph, Amelia, 33; Avice, 33, 34; Edelina, 33; Eustacia, 37, 39; Hubert, 33, 34, 35; Hugh, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40; Joan, 38; Margaret, 19, 32, 34; Matilda, 33, 34; Robert, 33; William, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34
 Fleet Prison, 36
 Font, Dale Abbey, 48, 86
 Forest, 22, 23, 32
 Free Fishery, 23; Warren, 23, 53, 55, 56
 Freschville, *Fam.*, 31; Ralph de, 34

 Gant, Gilbert de, 36
 Gate House, The, 45, 63, 70
 'Gome of the Dale,' 18, 19, 21, 22, 78, 79
 Gounsel, Peter de, 28
 Grauncorth, John, Abb. of Dale, 14, 54
Graviores Culpæ, 47, 58
 Gray, Anchitell, 86
 Greasley, 37, 38
 Grendon, *Fam.*, 20, 22, 32, 34, 36, 84
 Grendon, Andrew, 36; Bertram, 35; Ermintrude, 36; Fulcher, 35; Joan, 36; Jordan, 35; Margaret, 34, 36; Ralph, 36; Robert, 39; Roger, 34; Serlo, 19, 21, 32, 34, 35; Stephen, 36; William, 24, 26, 27, 29, 35, 78
 Grey, Arms of, 75
 Gresley, *Fam.*, 37; Agnes, 37, 38, 39; Ralph, 37
 Grey, *Fam.*, of Codnor, 16; of Sandiacre, 41
 Griff Grange, 39, 62
 Guest Hall, The, 45, 50, 51, 60, 63, 85

 Hagg, The, 71
 Hagneby, William de, 24
 Hales Owen Abbey, 47, 58
 Hallam, Ralph de, 41
 Halum, John, 61
 Hanley, 62
 Hanselin, Ralph, 30, 31, 32; Rose, 31
 Harrington, Earls of, 31
 Hathersage, 75
 Hazelbadge, 41
 Heanor, 16, 23, 57, 62
 Helena, St., 73
 Hereford, St. Thomas of, 38
 Hermits, 18, 19
 Hermit, The, of Depedale, 15, 18, 21, 31, 76, 77, 78, 84
 Hermitages, 18, 19, 75, 76
 Hermitage, The, of Depedale, 16, 17, 18, 76, 77, 84
 Hermit's Well, 17, 76, 77
 Hexham, 76
 Hilton, 39, 57, 62
 Holme, 38, 39
 Honwys, 40
 Hopton, 39
 Horsley Castle, 23, 35, 37; Park, 23
 „ John, Abb. of Dale, 55, 70
 „ William, Abb. of Dale, 56, 70
 Hospitality, 24, 29, 55
 Hulland, 30
 Humfrid, 17, 18

 Ilkeston, 23, 36, 37, 38, 56, 61
 Inner Chamber, 61
 Infirmary, 45, 85
 Interdict, 22
 Inventory of Dale Abbey, 60—62
 Keepers of Forest, 24

- Kegworth, 75
 Kerry, Rev., and Dale Church, 20,
 78—85
 Kidsley Park, 23
 Kirk Hallam, 13, 23, 41, 62
 Kirkstead, 40
 Kitchen, 47, 60, 63, 71
 Knaresborough, 73, 75
 Kniveton, 39, 62
 Koosters Chamber, 57
 Kyme, *Fam.*, 40; Philip, Simon, 40
 Kyrketon, Roger de, Abb. of Dale,
 56, 70

 La Magdalen, 23
 Lady Wood Farm, 13
 Lambert, Abb. of Newhouse, 28
 Lamcotte, 40
 Lancaster, Arms of Earls of, 75
 Launcelot, Sir, 19
 Lawrence, Abb. of Dale, 55
 Lavendon, 55
 Le Cockeysithe, 19
 Leek, 40
 Leicester, Archdeacon of, 42;
 Arms of Earls of, 75
 Lenten Priory, 37, 40, 75
 Leston, 40
 Leveland, 36
 Lewes, Battle of, 31
 Lexington, Robert de, 39
 Lichfield, Bishop of, 39
 Lincoln, Bishop, 38, 39; Dean,
 16, 56
 ,, Hugh de, Abb. of Dale, 55
 ,, John de, Abb. of Dale, 55
 Linderidge, 17
 Linsay, 40
 Little Hallam, 37, 39, 61
 Little Hay, 12, 35, 44, 61
 Locko Park, 13, 23
 Longchampe, Bishop of Ely, 31, 33

 Malt House, 12, 44, 61
 Mantel, Richard, 32
 Mapperley, 23, 62
 Matlock, 56
 Mauley, Arms of, 75
 Minister's Accounts, 61
 Mickleborough, 40

 Mickleover, 39
 Montfort, Arms of, 75
 Monumental Slabs—see *Tombs*
 Monyash, Henry, Abb. of Dale, 56
 Morley, 12, 71; Encaustic tiles,
 12, 75; Painted glass, 12, 46,
 71, 84, 87; Porch, 12, 74;
 Smithy, 12; *Fam.*, Arms of,
 75; Walter de, 41
 Mortimer, Earl of March, 31
 Muggington, 36
 Muniment Room, 70
 Muskham, 14, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40
 ,, or Muschamp, *Fam.*,
 14, 38, 39; Hugh, 37; Isa-
 bella, 37; Robert, 37, 38,
 40; Thomas, 14, 18, 31, 36,
 38, 39, 55
 Musters, Avic and Geoffrey, 33, 34

 Nave, The, 48, 50, 56, 63, 65, 66,
 68, 69
 Newhouse Abbey, 28, 54
 New Minster, 73
 Norbert, St., 24
 Normandy, 27, 32, 33
 Normanton, 62; Richard de, Abb.
 of Dale, 55
 North, Dr., 61
 Northumberland, Earl of, 31
 Nottingham, 34, 62; Archdeacon
 of, 33; Richard de, Abb. of
 Dale, 57, 66

 Obituary, 47, 54, 55
 Ockbrook, 12, 16, 19, 20, 27, 30,
 31, 32, 34, 35, 44, 61, 62
 Organ, 48, 60

 Painted Glass, 12, 46, 71
 Pannage, 32
 Parishes, Ancient, of Derby, 16
 Park, 23, 24
 Parlour, 25, 63
 Passion, Emblems of, 48, 74
 Paynesthorp, 37
 Peak, The, 55; Castle, 39;
 Forest, 23
 Pension Roll, 62
 Pensions, 62

- Phillips, Sir William, 31
 Piers Ploughman, 19
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 29, 59
 Plague, 58
 Pole, *Fam.*, 31; Francis, 61, 71, 74, 87; Arms of, 74
 Poutrell, *Fam.*, 11
 Precentor, 49, 58
 Premontre, Abbey of, 24, 48, 54
 Premonstratensian Order, 24, 26, 27, 51
 Prior, 46, 49, 69
 Processions, 47, 48
 Pulpit, Dale Church, 78, 85, 86

 Radburn, 31, 36, 61, 71, 74
 Ratcliff, 62
 Refectory, The, 27, 45, 46, 47, 51, 60, 70, 71
 Register, Dale Church, 86
 Repton, 21, 75
 Reredos, *see* *Altar*
 Rettenden, 84
 Rewards, 6
 Richard, the 'Gome's' Son, 20, 22
 Risley, 75, 86
 Robert, St., of Knaresborough, 46, 73, 75
 Rood, 60
 Ross, Arms of, 75; William, 38, 39
 Rufford Abbey, 37
 Rutland, Dukes of, 38

 Sabbath, 15
 Sacheverel, *Fam.*, 12, 71
 Sacristy or Vestry, 45, 46, 49, 67, 70
 St. Asaph, Bishop of, 57
 Salicosa - Mara, or Saucemaria, Galfrid, 26, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40; Matilda, 15, 16, 18, 26, 27, 33, 34, 35, 40; Robert, 38, 40
 Sandiacre, 34, 39, 41; John de, 41; Richard de, 60
 Saumaria, William de, 39
 Screens, Abbey Church, 47, 48, 67, 74; Church, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85
 Selston, 36, 37, 39, 62; Matilda, Lady of, 36, 39

 Seal of Abbey, 28
 Senteney, Walter de, Abb. of Dale, 28, 54, 69
 Shelford Priory, 12, 31
 Sheriff of Derby and Notts., 32, 33, 37
 Shipley, 37, 39, 41; Park, 23
 Simon, Abb. of Dale, 55
 Sitwell, Arms of, 74
 Slype, 45, 46, 47, 70
 Smythe, Robert, 61
 Soke, 32
 Sores, William le, 28
 Sowbrook, 20
 Spondon, John, Abb. of Dale, 48, 56, 71
 Stafford, William de, 36
 Stapleford, Richard de, 39
 Stalls, 48, 49, 66
 Standard, Battle of, 31
 Stanford, 40, 62
 Stanhope, Earls of, 78, 86, 87
 Stanley, 16, 20, 26, 33, 42, 43, 61, 62; Grange, 11, 56, 57; Park, 20, 23, 24, 27, 28, 53; *Fam.*, 40; William de, 40; John de, Abb. of Dale, 43, 51, 56, 57, 71, 84
 Stanton-by-Dale, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 55, 86
 Statham, *Fam.*, 12; Henry de, 74
 Storehouse Chamber, 57
 Strelly, *Fam.*, 41; Robert de, 41
 Supremacy, Act of, 58
 Suppression of Monasteries, 59
 Sub-prior, 46, 57
 Sub-sacristan, 58

 Tewkesbury Abbey, 79
 Thulston, 30, 62
 Thurgarton, 75
 Tickhill, Honour of, 40
 Tiles, Encaustic, 67, 69, 70, 74, 87; Kiln, 45, 74
 Tombs, 47, 68, 69, 70, 86; Founders', 50, 60, 66, 68
 Tower, 65, 66, 67
 Transepts, The, 45, 48, 49, 65, 66, 67
 Trent, The, 38

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Trowel, 40, 41, 60 ; Galf and Richard de, 40 ; William de, 41</p> <p>Tuke, Jordan, Philip and Robert de, 39</p> <p>Tupholm Abbey, 24</p> <p>Ursula, St., 46, 72</p> <p>Uthlagus, a robber, 17</p> <p>Vavator, Robert le, 37, 41</p> <p>Vestments, 60</p> <p>Vestry, or Sacristy, 60</p> <p>Waggons, 61</p> <p>Walkelin, Robert & Margaret, 36</p> <p>Wandesley, 37 ; Ralph de, 37, 38, 39</p> | <p>Warmington, 84</p> <p>Warren, William, 31</p> <p>Welbeck Abbey, 24, 25, 53, 54</p> <p>West Hallam, 10, 11, 44, 62</p> <p>Westminster Manor, 36</p> <p>Whetely, Richard, Prior of Dale, Whitewash, 47</p> <p>William, Abb. of Dale, 54</p> <p>Woodborough, Arms of, 75</p> <p>Woodhouse Chamber, 57</p> <p>„ John, Abb. of Dale, 54</p> <p>Worcester, Bishop of, 33, 38</p> <p>Wurm, Robert, 40</p> <p>York, Archbishop of, 31, 38 ; Mayor of, 73</p> <p>Zouch, Arms of, 75 ; <i>Fam.</i>, 38</p> |
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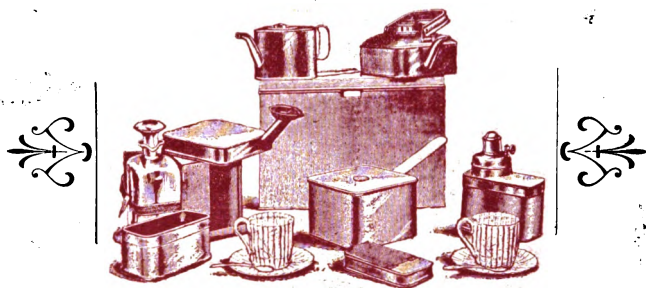
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